# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF MICHIGAN

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# THE MEANING OF COLOUR BAR IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA

It is truly unfortunate that the relations between the races in South and Central Africa should have been turned into a controversy between the right-wing and left-wing peoples and parties throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, so that a situation has been unnecessarily created in which the left-wingers appear as protagonists of black supremacy in opposition to the European settlers, who have entirely developed or created those countries, and think themselves worthy of support. Though unfortunate, this is the natural fruit of the class warfare and racial hatred propagated over many years with great intelligence by the socialist doctrines of Marx.

Here there is a remarkable phenomenon. Two of the most tranquil, most free, and well administered countries in the world are suffering a species of persecution from a press and people who are silent or apathetic about the slavery, persecution, and injustices rampant in many other parts of the world. Injustices there are in these countries, but they are minor ones and undeserving of the exaggerated abuse they receive.

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Socialist politicians like Mr Fenner Brockway, Mr Callaghan, and Mrs Barbara Castle do not hesitate to propagate the idea, which they ought to know to be false, that there is oppression in these countries of the black people by the white, which the last-named M.P. qualified as 'modern slavery.' If only these people would appreciate that the Europeans in Africa are well disposed people, doing their best towards the black people, with whom their relations are still friendly and happy, they would not so malign their fellowcountrymen. If they would study on the spot and not merely by imagination the condition of the black man in the past and in the present and what is being done for his advancement, they could learn the truth instead of making political capital out of misrepresentation. It is especially irritating to those who have knowledge and experience and are well disposed towards the Bantu-and they comprise the vast majority—to be maligned and the situation misrepresented by people who have neither. Such things can only lead to revolts or further dissolution of the remains of the British Empire.

The solutions offered for these multi-racial countries have the different guiding principles of integration, segregation, and partnership, but each word has its numerous shades and interpretations with extremists on both sides. Complete segregation is as impossible and undesirable as is complete integration, and this is understood by reasonable protagonists of both doctrines. The Federation's policy of partnership, in the true sense of the word and based on Rhodes' dictum, 'Equal rights for all civilized men,' may be found to be the right policy, but so also may the Union's policy of segregation. Only the future can show.

The average European in Central and South Africa desires stability and security, but wishes neither the cheating nor repression of the Bantu, who is to be allowed the full advancement and development that he can earn with his capabilities. He is also firmly determined that he (the European) is also entitled to the full reward of his work and does not intend to allow himself to be exploited and robbed of the fruits of his labour.

Whatever may be the course of politics in South Africa, the Federation, and Whitehall, there are certain unchangeable factors that must be taken into account. One is that the Bantu, as far as he has any opinion, is not interested in the white man's idea of democracy and universal suffrage and is interested only in Africa exclusively for the Bantu. Another is that these countries are the home of the European settler and he intends to keep what is his for himself and his children, whatever may be thought or said in Whitehall; and he will, if necessary to hold it, be prepared to fight as he has done in the past. Still another factor is the fear of miscegenation and the creation of a mongrel people—mongrel in soul, body, and character—of whose inferiority he has examples before his eyes. He revolts at the idea of mixing his blood with theirs and shuns social integration on that account.

The almost fanatical hatred that the word 'apartheid' arouses in Labour circles in England and among certain political clerics becomes incongruous when it is realized that the translation of the word into English is 'segregation' and, if segregation were done away with, all native reserves and protectorates would have to be thrown open to European competition and settlement, whereas Europeans at present may not enter them without a permit. The

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whole British policy of protection of the native from exploitation was from the first based on segregation or apartheid. Of Northern Rhodesian land over 80 per cent. is reserved exclusively for the Bantu.

It is suitable that certain natural barriers between white and black should be maintained, and there can be little doubt that both prefer that it should be so. Experience has shown that people can all live together harmoniously under the existence of social segregation, so why force on them an undesired integration? Though the Socialist Party has not gone so far in the use of forceful integration as the U.S.A. Federal Government, who used tanks and bayonets to enforce it, yet their fundamental principle of forcing integration by legislation is there. Even in England, where it is a minority problem, there is more and more indignation at the influx of blacks from the West Indies.

It is a colossal ignorance, both of humanity and history, that attempts to apply the doctrines of equality and universal suffrage to primitive peoples.

In Rhodesia what can be called the average person (or should we say common man), who does not share the apathy of so many of his compatriots, is determined to hold what is his and not allow himself and his family to be defrauded by the handing over of his country to the control of the Bantu, which he knows means the return to chaos and savagery of all that he has civilized, to the advantage of no one and least of all of the Bantu himself. He has evidence, if he reads at all, of the inevitable results of applying universal suffrage democracy to backward or unprepared peoples in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Sudan, Nigeria, and Indonesia, and he does not intend to become a victim of such a policy.

To all people with historical knowledge or personal experience of the Bantu and other backward peoples, the idea of universal suffrage democracy must shock their common sense and their sense of human realities, yet the Colonial Office has laid down in the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 and the Passfield White Paper of 1930 that the interests of the Africans must be paramount, and evidently still holds that theory. Unfortunately they appear unable to discriminate between the real interests of the Africans, who at present require European direction, and their political supremacy.

In the Federation there are oppositions to the Federal Party. The

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bethe lone bereas Dominion Party's fear is that the doctrine of partnership is merely the bridge towards complete integration and they oppose the franchise conditions as tending in the same direction; the African Congress, on the other hand, is in open defiance and its leaders speak openly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland of their intention to dominate and possess the land, and in some cases they speak of the expulsion of the European. Here is heard at times the plausible but ignorant cry of 'Africa for the Africans,' meaning that the country belongs to the Bantu. Are not the Europeans equally Africans with equal rights? And are not the Bantu comparatively recent arrivals? Except on the east coast they probably crossed the Zambezi only in the fourteenth century and migrated southwards destroying the bushmen and Hottentots, who then possessed Africa. They arrived in their migrations in the Cape after the arrival of the Dutch and English. To whom, then, does Africa belong?

The defiance of the Bantu politicos and Congress is doubtless fomented by the far-flung propaganda of the cold warfare, stretching out from Moscow through Cairo, Accra, and Addis Ababa.

A common argument used by the ill-informed is the cry of land hunger and over-population of the reserves by the Bantu. Both the commissions which recently were set up and reported on this and other aspects of the Bantu problem (the Tomlinson Report in South Africa and the Royal Commission in East Africa) found that the alleged land shortage was an illusion and the apparent scarcity was caused by the wasteful and erosive agricultural methods of the Bantu.

Let there be no mistake. With the exception of some soft-hearted and soft-headed enthusiasts, the vociferous political clerics, certain societies drawing funds from American foundations, and the Communist agents, all the inhabitants of South and Central Africa are in favour of residential and social segregation. This is true for Europeans throughout the Union and the Federation, and for the Bantu too, where he is capable of having an opinion.

There are many schools of thought and many shades of meaning given to segregation or apartheid and integration—political, industrial, educational, and social—which often bedevils discussion and policies, but in general governments and parties are inspired by the same ideals of the preservation of white civilization, with its law,

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Parti Parti Parti Polici order, and justice, though they may hold the differing methods of apartheid and partnership as being the right one.

In the Union, national unity means primarily unity between the English and Afrikaans sections, which had seemed to be achieved under General Smuts, but is now showing rifts, which are lamentably being aggravated by ill-timed utterances from the pulpit by an Archbishop and others, which foments racial antagonisms. The fundamental issue confronting the white man in the Union is not any longer whether Briton will dominate Boer or vice versa, but whether the Bantu will in the end be allowed to dominate both.

It should be remembered that segregation is the ancient policy of England, inherited by the Union, and that it was always the policy of General Smuts and the United Party as well as of the Nationalists.

It is distressing, to say the least of it, that the Archbishop of Cape Town should add to the biblical dogmas of Christianity by declaring apartheid to be un-Christian, and thereby condemning the whole of the Dutch Reformed Church and many of his own Anglican members.

The Nationalist Party has controlled South Africa for the past ten years and in the recent elections in April they were returned with an increased majority of fifty members over their opponents, the United Party. The other parties—Liberal, Labour, and South African Bond—disappeared from parliament and the two main parties were left in full possession but with an overwhelming majority in favour of the nationalists.

The long-standing Boer-British feud has become modified and almost irrelevant in fact of the threat of black supremacy. In Britain it is often believed that the Nationalist Party is Boer and the United Party is British, but that is a misinformed opinion, for there are as many Boer names as British in the United Party and a large number of people of British descent vote nationalist; nor is segregation or integration the dividing-line between the two parties.

There will soon be elections in the Federation for the Federal parliament in which the two main parties will be the United Federal Party under the leadership of Sir Roy Welensky and the Dominion Party led by Mr Winston Field. There is no great cleavage of policies between these parties, but the latter is inclined to be more

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In May there took place elections for the Southern Rhodesian parliament in which there were three parties in competition, the United Federal Party, the United Rhodesia Party, and the Dominion Party. The conflict was one of personalities rather than of policies and centred chiefly around Mr Todd, the one-time premier of Southern Rhodesia, who had revived the United Rhodesia Party among his supporters for the purposes of the election, though it had technically been absorbed into the United Federal Party some months previously. This created much political confusion, but both Mr Todd and his party were completely obliterated at the polls, being unable to retain a single seat. The final result for the 30 seats was a great surprise, giving 17 to the United Federal Party and 13 to the Dominion Party.

Among the many measures for the advancement and welfare of the Bantu that have been passed in the Federation, the Native Land Husbandry Act of Southern Rhodesia may have a deep effect; it is framed to regulate the present system under which a native is part-time an urban dweller and worker and part-time a farmer, when he returns to his kraal to attend to his land. The Act may tend to increase the efficiency of the worker and it may not; that depends on his capability to advance himself. The same can be said about the recent rise in wages for the Bantu; it is common knowledge that his wages and efficiency are low in comparison with European standards and the hope has been that the rise in wages will raise his efficiency and give him further stimulus for advancing himself. Only time can show if he possesses the necessary qualities. In the meantime the rise is creating unemployment in a country of unlimited labour supply.

Some confusion of thought is manifested regarding the theories of racial inequalities, racial integrity, the effects of breeding on man's body or character, social inequalities and their relation to the Christian teaching of the equality of men in the sight of God. There should be no difficulty in reconciling the true teachings of Christianity as set forth in the Gospels in these matters with realities and common sense.

We recognize that God is no respecter of persons and that within the area of Christian fellowship there is no difference between races, but that has lit accepts of natulished

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The fusing huma and a differenter, and and r but that much which purports to-day to rule Christian race relations has little to do with traditional and biblical Christianity, which accepts racial integrity as a development of God's Providence and of nature. From the Bible it appears that God's original plan established racial and colour separations.

Great harm is done to the cause of racial harmony by extremist politico-clericals like Father Huddleston, Bishop Reeves, and Canon Collins, who inveigh violently in the pulpit against any form of segregation and appear to have no charity to the opinions of their white neighbours. One of them recently proclaimed that to maintain white supremacy was flagrantly immoral.

It is informative and alarming to discover the links that exist between various societies, parties, and individuals all interested in the propagation of the supremacy of the black man over the white, though they use the plausible slogan of multiracialism. We see the liberals of South Africa, the socialists, Communists and left-wingers of the world, various societies, and the above clerical gentlemen all propagating the same ideas leading to universal suffrage and black domination, and many of the names in the various societies are the same.

The newest recruit to this subversive army is a society called 'The American Committee on Africa,' on whose committee occur familiar names and whose president is Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, whose leftwing tendencies are well known. This society has published a document entitled 'Declaration of Conscience,' which professes to present their campaign as a moral and religious crusade in favour of the American policy of helping African peoples to escape oppression and obtain independence from British colonialism. It matters not to them that they are impertinently interfering with the internal affairs of other countries, nor do they lift their voices against the true, crue!, and well-proven oppressions perpetuated by the addicts of Communism throughout the world.

The terms 'race,' 'race prejudice,' and 'colour bar' are all confusing and often applied inaccurately. There is only one race, the human race, but there are varieties of men as there are of plants and animals. Race prejudice is not due to bodily differences but to differences in the outlook upon life or to diversity of habits, character, and heredity. Colour is merely the symbol of these differences and not their cause, as these people, who are either blinded by

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vithin races, prejudice or wish to stir up strife between black and white, propagate with success and enthusiasm.

The Rev. W. L. Willoughby in his Race Problems, one of the deepest studies of the relations between Briton and Bantu in Africa, says:

It is the social and historical element which separates the varieties of man-the wide divergence of ideal, which is due to a difference of social heredity. The spiritual heritage that has come to us through home, school, public institutions, trade, industry, art, science, tradition, and religion is far above that which has come to Blacks through tribalism, ancestor-worship, magic, and the tradition of an isolated and stagnant past. Such terms as 'colour bar' are due to the fact that colour is a rough-and-ready symbol of different hygienic, economic, moral, and educational standards. Habits of thought that have been interwoven in the native mind by untold centuries of magic, serfdom, and barbarism cannot be unravelled in a generation or two; and it is the old mental and moral warp that excites the aversion of Europeans. We all suffer from a tendency to substitute the symbol for the thing symbolized, especially in those domains of experience that have been transferred from the control of thought to that of habit.... But when we happen upon a native of mental, social, and spiritual culture, his physical characteristics are no bar to comradeship.

The truth of this is illustrated by the intermingling of students of all the different shades of skin colour in universities and in the professions in many countries.

The modern tendency is to use this 'colour bar' to cover indiscriminately the difference between a white skin and all other different pigments and to make the untravelled and the insular incapable of distinguishing between the highly cultured Rajput gentleman and the primitive savage of Africa. This is an extreme illustration, but it makes it evident that this term 'colour bar' should be used with the greatest care or not at all, for it foments unnecessarily race hatreds and intolerance.

Causes of antagonism between Briton and Bantu exist in the illmanners and lack of respect due to other human beings that is a feature of the low-bred white, who has not had anyone to order about before he left Europe, cannot handle servants with sympathy and good manners, and has not ingrained in him the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man possessed by his better-bred fellow.

On the question of social equality between Briton and Bantu, which is used to flog the white man by the inexperienced sentimen-

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Africa perperand held talists and the political clerics, we cannot do better than quote again that deep observer, Mr Willoughby:

The question of social equality between Bantu and British is one of the silliest questions that has ever been propounded. It is discussed only by those who decry it, those who have inadequate knowledge of Bantu social life, and those who mean something other than they say. We do not grant social equality to people who are glaringly inferior to the costlier qualities of character and culture, that are the true bases of superiority. The average Bantu is not the social equal of the average Briton by a very long way, and it is neither reasonable nor helpful to ask that he should be treated as if he were. There are exceptional individuals in both races: Britons whom one would be sorry to see in one's social circles till they were cleaned inside and out, and Bantu whom it is always a pleasure to have at our table.

It is this final paragraph that indicates one of the most fruitful causes of angry dispute between segregationists and integrationists, of which the roots lie deep in the common fallacy of judging from the particular to the general and forgetting the ancient dictum that 'hard cases made bad law.'

To return to the question of the brotherhood of man, it must be accepted by every Christian of goodwill and must be the basis of success in every multi-racial country, but it must also be accepted that we are brothers because we are humans but that brotherhood does not mean equality any more than does partnership. Partners can be minority or majority partners and an athlete may have a crippled brother, an artist a brother who is colour-blind, a statesman a brother who is infantile or a renowned scientist an idiot one.

Regarding political equality, we have seen that Bantu political thought is cast in a different mould and generations must pass before the average Bantu will be fit for political equality in British institutions. Here again there are the cases of Britons completely ignorant of affairs and Bantu well informed about them. But this does not provide an argument in favour of equality, for such principles must be based on the average and not on the exception.

Contrary to the wishful thinking of some intellectuals, history and the evidence of all explorers and missionaries prove that Central Africa at the coming of the white man was a country subject to perpetual war, slavery, tyranny, and magic. All men went armed and were the victims of fear and witchcraft. The sentimental theory, held by one school of thought, of the noble and innocent savage

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corrupted by the white man cannot bear the light of past or present evidence. The white man justly believes that he has brought the Bantu all his benefits, but Bantu memory is short and the politically-minded Bantu finds it an easy way to power to blame the white man for his troubles and raises the cry of 'Africa for the Africans' (meaning the Bantu), which foments racial antagonism and fosters the idea of a Bantu nationalism, when there is no such thing as a Bantu nation, but merely a multiplicity of tribes with a common root language and origin, fighting and destroying each other throughout the centuries.

It must not be thought for a moment that it is desired here to set against the backward and imperfect Bantu a picture of a perfect Christian European settler or that there is a blindness to the many mistakes, vices, and defects of the white man. Our object is to illustrate that the Bantu and European are separated by their different outlooks on life and by the former's ignorance of much that man ought to know and not merely by their colour, which is an incident of God's creation.

Inaccurate or insufficient knowledge of Christian doctrine and the Gospels, cleverly played upon by the emotionalist or the materialist prophet of socialism, has resulted in the belief that the social equality of men is implicit in the Christian faith. Though this belief is propagated by certain political priests in Africa of different denominations, it is none the less quite erroneous and must be combated in the interests of truth.

The diversity of doctrinal teaching by the different Christian sects or churches and lack of unity among them is a grievous set-back to Christianity in many parts of the world, but nowhere is it more so than in South and Central Africa, where a multiplicity of missions belonging to different sects tends to make the converts clannish and to confuse them.

It must be realized that in the early days of colonization all the education of the Bantu was undertaken by the missions, who received a capitation allowance from the governments, but that recently the governments have taken an ever-increasing part in native education, both as regards schools and the payment of teachers. In the Federation the Government still continues to subsidize the missionary schools, but in South Africa the Government has, under the Bantu Education Act, ceased all subsidies to the

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religious schools, except those of the Dutch Reformed Church. No announcement has been made yet by the other denominations, but the Catholics have stated that they will continue their present schools at their own expense.

It is necessary to deal with the subject of miscegenation, which is often taboo and still oftener pushed to one side with a joke, but it is highly germane to our subject and influences highly both the thinking and unthinking, the first owing to history and knowledge of nature and the second by instinct.

It is a fallacious argument in favour of miscegenation that we are all hybrids and that no pure race exists, except perhaps in the backward aborigines of South America, Central Africa, and Australia. To accept this argument so as to encourage the miscegenation of higher and lower types is to close the mind to realities and deny all the experience of our own lives and the aims and objects of all farmers and teachers; it refutes the obvious truth that the half-breed or person of mixed white and black blood is everywhere looked at askance as an inferior being; it also refutes the very objects of culture, refinement, and progressive education, which require generations of breeding and teaching to acquire.

It is often held by men of experience that the children of white men and black women combine the vices of both races and the virtues of neither, though this requires further proof. It is true that many white men find it distasteful to cohabit with black women, but native prostitutes are common and the numbers of the coloured people in both countries is proof that for white men to go with black women is usual and that cohabitation between white man and black woman is by no means uncommon, though that between white woman and black man is fortunately completely taboo and, with a few exceptions, usually occurs through rape.

Though the Bantu has no indigenous civilization, it is often considered by an advanced intelligentsia that there is something wrong and wicked in the planting of European civilization in Africa. Such a theory should shock even the most inaccurate thinker. Civilization is the mark of man's advance from the cave man to the refined gentleman. There have been many civilizations in the world, of which those which centred round the Mediterranean reached the greatest perfection. What we call European civilization to-day is the conglomeration of the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece,

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and Rome. It is that civilization that was planted on Britain and has developed through the centuries for 2,000 years; it is that civilization that we have planted in Central and South Africa and offer to teach to the Bantu. It did not destroy any preceding civilization because there was none to destroy.

Though the present and probably eternal differences of character, mentality, and ability exist between the Bantu and European, it is necessary to emphasize the tremendous advances that have taken place in the housing, clothing, hygiene, and education of the Bantu. These have taken place, both in the Union and the Federation, very little from the efforts and co-operation of the Bantu but mainly from the humanity, self-interest, and the pocket of the European. Any comparison between the conditions of fifty or even twenty-five years ago and those of to-day is quite adequate alone to dispose of the nonsense that there has been oppression.

There is growing up a middle class among the Bantu, and doctors, lawyers, and successful traders are rapidly on the increase as education and the European example bear their fruit, though their numbers are still a very minute proportion of the total Bantu population.

There are also measures enabling the Bantu to carry on local government, wages are increasing, and there is advance along the road towards equal pay for equal work as between European and Bantu. The greatest hindrances towards the advancement of the Bantu in the skilled and semi-skilled branches of labour have been the European trades unions and the closed shop.

The plausible but unjust accusation of oppression of the Bantu made by people who do not live alongside them, know anything of their life, or see their teeming millions, is that they are not allowed in shops, restaurants, hotels, trains, or lifts on equal conditions with the European. Here colour is the division and has become so because in the earliest times no other method could be conceived or was practicable. Now that an educated middle class is arising, these discriminations will gradually cease to be based on colour and will doubtless eventually depend on the clothing, manners, and pockets of people, as is general in other countries.

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### BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY IN GALILEE

LAST summer an exhibition was held at the British Museum of the finds from the excavation of a famous biblical site in Galilee, Hazor. The finds throw an extraordinary clear light on the social life and the religion of the Canaanites before the invasion of the Children of Israel under Joshua, and then of the Israelites till the first Captivity. The place and the dig are equally romantic.

A branch of the Great North Road of Israel leads from Haifa to Nazareth and the Galilee hills, then, turning eastwards, descends steeply to the Lake of Galilee in the pit of the Jordan Valley, 600 feet below sea-level. From the northern end of the lake it mounts gradually to the Upper Jordan Valley, which is bordered on either side by the mountain wall. The fertile plain widens into the smallest and most northern of the three internal lakes formed by the Jordan, which, until a few years ago, was surrounded by a malarial swamp. That is Lake Huleh, known in the Bible as the Waters of Merom. During the last years the Government of Israel has carried through a scheme of drainage and canalization, which has reclaimed 15,000 acres of marsh and turned them to fruitful soil. Just before the road reaches the Huleh Lake, a high and vast tel or mound, bordering a deep ditch, rises 200 metres from the plain. From the top you see snow-capped Mount Hermon. And in the summer months you will see some hundreds of workers digging in different sections of the mound, and removing layers of it.

The high-road was cut in the period of the British Mandate through a shoulder of the mound, in order to get rid of a diversion, and provide quicker communication with the Syrian frontier. Syria lies some thirty miles north, beyond Israel's narrow salient that contains the headwaters of the Jordan. The river here cascades through a mysterious black basalt gorge, falling in a few miles 900 feet to the Sea of Galilee. Below the mound is one of the Jewish villages founded by the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild. It bears the name Ayelet Hashahar, meaning 'Deer of the Dawn,' and it has become the headquarters of the archæological expedition which is digging the mound. A museum is being established in it of the

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objects from the dig which are not required by the Israel Government Department of Antiquity or the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The mound is the biggest antiquity site in Israel. It covers, or rather covered-for it is now being uncovered-four thousand years. Like Megiddo, in the Vale of Jezreel, it was a strong-point on the military road between Egypt and the Western Asia Empires, and was also a principal town of the Canaanites. It extends over two hundred acres, whereas Megiddo and Jericho and other famous tels extend over less than twenty acres. It has been proved that the whole area was once built-up, and inhabited by 40,000 souls. An archæological expedition, directed by Dr Yigel Yadin, the son of the late Professor Sukenik, the archæologist of the Hebrew University and of Dead Sea Scroll fame, and himself the Chief of Staff of the Army of Israel in the War of Independence, and the interpreter of two of the original scrolls, is scientifically exploring the whole area. It is the largest and best equipped expedition in the land. It started work in the summer of 1955, and has continued its field exploration. In the last three years it has disclosed precious treasures of history, and it has more to give.

Hazor is described in the Book of Joshua (xi. 11) as 'the head [capital] of all the kingdoms of the [north] Canaanites.' Joshua's victory over King Jabin of Hazor and the destruction of the fortress occurred at the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C. But the recorded history begins seven hundred years earlier, in Egyptian and Sumerian (that is, Mesopotamian) documents. In the archives of Mari, a site on the Euphrates, Hazor appears as a centre of commerce. In Egyptian tablets of about 1800 B.C. it is mentioned as a hostile town to be cursed. Some hundred years later, when Egypt embarked on her imperial expansion northwards, the warrior Pharaohs, Thutmose and Seti I, occupied it in order to guard their line of communications, and proudly mention it in their monuments. Then in the fourteenth century, as Egypt's power weakened, the satellite 'King' of Hazor made himself independent; and the diplomatic documents of the Pharaohs, known as the El Amarna letters, include bitter complaints from the 'King' of Tyre, who was an Egyptian vassal, against him. Egyptian suzerainty had been repudiated before the Children of Israel entered the Promised Land. King Jabin rallied all the kings of the northern league of Canaanites,

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epudi-King unites, 'the Amorites, Perizzites, Jebusites, and Hivites, and they went out to battle, and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand on the sea-shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many . . . and when all the kings were met, they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel. But Joshua fell on them. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of Israel, who smote them and chased them to great Sidon [the Phœnician town on the coast]. And Joshua at that time turned and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword . . . And they smote all the souls that were therein, utterly destroying . . . And he burned Hazor with fire.'

Hazor must have been soon rebuilt, because in the Book of Judges we read that Jabin, King of Hazor, had nine hundred chariots of iron, and he oppressed Israel for twenty years. His captain Sisera was routed in the battle against Barak and Debora, the Prophetess of Israel, on the slopes of Mount Tabor. 'And the hand of the Children of Israel prospered, and prevailed against Javin, King of Canaan' (Judges, Chapter 4). This is the story which is being confirmed and amplified by archæology.

The tel of Hazor comprises two parts: a citadel with the royal residence and the fortress: and the town in which the people lived. Like the other tels in the land, it is a book of history to be read backwards. The top layers are the latest in date, and only after they have been examined and removed can the expedition get to the more ancient. The Bible tells that King Solomon rebuilt Hazor (c. 1000 B.C.) as a fortress; and it remained a citadel of the kings of Israel in the northern kingdom, till it was destroyed again by the Assyrian Tiglath Pileser, 732 B.C. Pekah was the wretched king of Israel when it was captured; and the destruction this time was final. The hill-top of the old citadel, commanding the neighbourhood, was indeed a strong-post again and again through the ages. The Persians who ruled Palestine left relics of their occupation; so did the Hellenistic and the Roman rulers, and lastly, the English who, at the time of the Arab revolt 1936-9, placed on it a police pill-box.

The site of Hazor had passed, however, from memory till 1928, when the British archæologist, the late Professor Garstang, exploring in the footsteps of Joshua from Jericho to the north, had the intuition that this vast mound might be the site of the fortress which Joshua destroyed. His rough soundings in the tel convinced him that

he was right. He thought he had found confirmation, from the pottery that was strewn on the site, for his theory that the Israel conquest took place in the early part of the fourteenth century. Then for twenty-seven years nothing more was done to reveal the secrets. Now Dr Yadin, with the generous help of the late James de Rothschild, has been able to initiate a thorough examination.

The published results of the first three years of the dig surpassed expectations of what the site would reveal in the way of religious and social history. It is not sensational, like the treasure of Jericho and the Dead Sea Caves, but rather a fitting together, as with a jig-saw puzzle, of hundreds of little pieces. History is reconstructed by big and little things of small intrinsic value: bits of wall and foundations, subterranean chambers and tombs, shrines and sculpted images and tablets, pottery sherds with a name carved or written, animal bones and the skeletons of men, women, and children. Dr Yadin proved in his first year's exploring that Garstang's identification of the site was right, but his dating of the destruction of the Canaanite city was wrong by about a hundred years. Garstang relied on the absence in his superficial soundings of what is known as Mycenæan pottery, i.e. jars and vessels with marks and ornament of the Greek and Cretan ware. That was spread over the Middle East from the thirteenth century, when the islanders of the Aegean made their way to the Asiatic mainland, and brought their pottery with them. Yadin's exploration unearthed at once numerous pieces of their style in the floors of the city; and the corollary was that the destruction happened during the century when the Europeans had arrived.

The expedition divided its searches between the citadel of twenty-five acres and several selected points in the vast surrounding earthwork which covered the Canaanite city. The citadel comprised, besides the palace, the stone houses of the King's men and the aristocrats. The surrounding urban area was for the polloi, the soldiers, workmen, artisans, and servants. The middle of the enclosure was the vast parking-place for the chariots and the farming vehicles, and probably the stables. A deep moat, such as is found in the Hittite city of Carchemish in Syria, surrounded it. And it is certain that the Hittites penetrated to the fortress. The main dig in the citadel had by 1957 reached the city of King Pekah, dated about 750 B.C.; and it may be that a score of cities, that is, bits of

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wall and chambers of many ages, will be uncovered before the original town, comparable with the original Jericho, is reached at rock bottom. The most startling discoveries hitherto have been from the upper layers, of the time of the Kings, Solomon, Ahab, Jeroboam II, and Pekah. Rare Hebrew inscriptions, the oldest known in Galilee, were on wine-jars. One was probably part of a tithe, 'for Pekah,' with the description of the wine. The Hebrew word occurs in the Song of Songs (ii. 13), and is there translated 'tender grape.' Another jar is inscribed, 'for Makhbiram,' a Hebrew name hitherto unknown. It was in the house where also a work of domestic art was buried. That was an ornate palette of ivory, with the carving of the Tree of Life on one side, a woman's head on the other, and two stylized birds on each side of the head. Some beautiful specimens of Mycenæan ware, which may have held perfume, and a stopper of a perfume flask, carved in the shape of the Egyptian goddess Hathor, were also found. Dr Yadin conjectures that the house belonged to an important merchant whose wife liked pretty things. The house showed signs of earthquake damage, and the guess is that the earthquake is that mentioned in the first verse of the Israel Prophet Amos, who was contemporary with Jeroboam II.

The floor of the fortress of Pekah was covered with burned ash, a proof of the utter destruction. In a kitchen the skull of a sow, which must have been caught in the conflagration, and pathetically the shell of a tortoise were on the floor. And in a casement of the city wall a big sea-shell, such as are found in the Red Sea, was lying about. It was pierced so that it might be used as a trumpet to summon the garrison in case of attack. Other household objects were the stone weights of looms—the wooden looms themselves must have been burnt—and a stone gaming board.

More spectacular objects connected with the religious life were recovered in the enclosure of the Canaanite city besides the citadel. They are not later than the thirteenth century B.C., when the outer city was destroyed. In the first year the expedition uncovered at the foot of the rampart a Canaanite sanctuary of the moon-god, more complete than any hitherto known. The sculpted figure of the seated god, of which the head had been struck off, but was found nearby and could be fitted, a number of upright stones—stelæ—one with the figure of a man praying with outstretched arms, a

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basalt lion figure, similar to that on Hittite monuments, an offeringtable, and vessels were found close together. During the second year the expedition, digging round the sanctuary, found more rooms and objects connected with the worship, store-chambers with big jars, and a potter's workshop with a potter's wheel of basalt, and with many of the craftsman's works. The religious objects included a clay mask, with holes pierced at the side, so that it could be fastened to a face, and a different cult-emblem, a plaque or standard of bronze, silver-plated, on which was wrought the image of a snakegoddess holding a snake in each hand. Digging down to the rock in another part of the enclosure, they found below the floor of the house many infant burials in jars, one or two small jugs in each. In a third sector a heavy altar of stone showed above the ground. Removing it, they came to the area of a second temple, of the sungod (Baal), which comprised, besides the open court, the paraphernalia of worship, the stone foundation of a High Place, a stand of incense, an alabaster incense vessel. Underground canals were constructed for draining the blood of the sacrifices; and finally, below the foundation of the sacred building, the diggers came to a tunnel hewn out of the rock which must lead to some chambers.

The third year's digging, however, did not solve that mystery. The tunnel led on, and six branches led out of it; but the diggers had not come to the end, which they believed to be burial chambers of the nobles. The most remarkable find of the year in the citadel sector was the gate of the fortress town in the days of King Solomon. It was built with a gigantic wall 20 metres high, and had six compartments, three on each side, which must have been the guardrooms. On the outer side was a rectangular tower. The structure of the gate was exactly like that discovered years ago at Megiddo, which was also built in the days of King Solomon. That bears out the verse in the Book of Kings (I.ix.15): "This is the reason of the levy which King Solomon raised: to build the House of the Lord [that is, the Temple], and his own house, and the walls of Jerusalem and Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer.' They discovered, too, below the layers of ashes from the Assyrian destruction, the living-quarters of the garrison with a mass of pottery utensils. But the most spectacular find of the year was in the mound of the Canaanite city. Continuing the exploration of the Canaanite temple of the sun-god, built in the Hittite style, they found a wall of upright basalt tablets;

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woo were and on the floor was strewn a mass of cult objects—libation tables, pottery, and the seated god. The form of the temple in three sections was much the same as the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem—built 300-400 years later: the outermost porch for the crowd, within it a court for the worshippers, and the innermost court of the Holy of Holies for the priests. In the sanctuary they found four figures of bronze (one male, wearing a conical helmet, two female, and one in the form of a bull). We are gathering more and more evidence of the Canaanite religion. They found, too, a scarab seal of the Egyptian Pharoah Amenophis III, of the fourteenth century—which suggests the date.

Thanks to the indestructible basalt stone of the region, the Hazor expedition has already given a fuller picture of Canaanite civilization than any of its predecessors. As the science of archæology progresses, the small objects, which previously escaped attention, are fitted into a pattern. The digging at Hazor is done mainly by recent Jewish immigrants, from Persia, North Africa, and other oriental communities, simple, untutored men and women. They are ideal workers, both because they go slow and because they have knowledge and love of the Bible, and are elated when they find an object which associates their work with the Bible. The knowledge of the life of the ancient Children of Israel has become almost a substitute of religion in Israel of to-day. Pride and even passive participation in the discovery of the visible relics of the past give to the Israelis of to-day a sense of unity with the people of the Bible.

While the *tel* of Hazor is revealing a picture of the religion and the social life of Galilee in the period before and during the occupation of the Children of Israel, another site in Galilee, which has been scientifically excavated for some years and is still unexhausted, is giving a vivid picture of the religious and social life of the Jews a thousand years later. Judaism had reached its full development as a universal religion; but the Jewish people, having lost their State and their Temple in Jerusalem, were struggling for survival against Roman tyranny. The knowledge in this instance comes not from a visible *tel*, but from hidden tombs; and it started unexpectedly through the fortunate find of an amateur.

Between Haifa and Nazareth the high-road passes through wooded hills, the remains of an ancient forest of oaks. New forests were planted on the treeless hills of the region, in the period of the

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ctacu-. Conn-god, ablets; British Mandate, by the Palestine Government and the Jewish National Fund; and Jewish agricultural villages were established amid the old and the new forests. In 1936, when the Arab revolt against the British Administration disturbed the whole country, a Jewish watchman of a small settlement, engaged on his patrol. marked an old burial chamber cut in the soft rock. The village at that time bore an Arabic name, Sheikh Abreik, from a local Holy Man whose domed white tomb was on a hillock. But when the burial chamber was explored, it was clear it had nothing to do with the former Arab inhabitants. It led on to others full of ossuaries, of which some bore legible inscriptions in Hebrew and in Greek. Professor Mazar, President of the Hebrew University, for four years carried out explorations on the hill and in the rocky slopes which, for miles, fell steeply to a ravine. The operation was interrupted by the world war and Israel's War of Independence. It was resumed in 1953, and has been conducted each year since. Early it became obvious that this was no ordinary burial-place of a small Jewish township of the early centuries of the Christian era, when the cultural centre of the stateless Jewish people was in Galilee.

Exploration on the hill-top unearthed the ruins of an imposing synagogue and public buildings which adjoin it. This was a Royal Estate of the Herodian Houses, the property of the Princess Berenice, daughter of King Agrippa I and the mistress of the Roman Emperor Titus. It became a centre of Jewish scholars after the exile of the Jews of Judæa, which followed the suppression of their revolt in the middle of the second century. Kitchener had noted the caves when he was making a survey of Palestine seventy-five years ago, but did not explore them.

At the same time, further exploration of the subterranean passages opening out from the rocky slopes revealed a vast necropolis, with burials of Jews of all parts of the ancient world during the first centuries of the Christian era. The limits of the city of the dead have not yet been reached. Each year fresh openings are found, and more sarcophagi and more inscriptions, usually rough graffit of paint or ink, come to light. Scholars had long wondered where a famous seat of Jewish learning and of the Supreme Rabbinical Council, the Sanhedrin, was situated. It was called in the Talmud Beth Shearim, meaning the House of Gates; and in the history of Josephus appears as Besara, a Greek corruption of the Hebrew.

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The city was the residence of the most famous of the Rabbinical sages in the latter part of the second century, the patriarch Judah the Prince. He was the compiler or editor of the Mishna, the Code of the Oral Law of Judaism. That system of tradition, which supplemented the Books of Scripture, had hitherto not been committed to a written text. The Mishna became in turn the basis of the disputations which are recorded in the two Talmuds—of Jerusalem (which was actually completed at Tiberias in the fourth century), and of Babylon some centuries later. The seat of the Sanhedrin remained in Galilee, but was moved to Tiberias when Beth Shearim was destroyed in the fourth century, following a great Jewish revolt. The scholars are now convinced that they have lighted on the town.

So far the more dramatic discoveries have been, so to say, in the nether world. No manuscripts, no scrolls, no synagogue ornaments have yet been found on the hill, though part of the facade and the foundations and walls of the large basilica-synagogue, with a fine gateway of three arches, which may have given the name, have been excavated. The rock-cut catacombs seem endless. Each is composed of an open courtyard, from which a stone door, still often swinging on its hinge, leads into a hall or halls and burial chambers. One of them comprises twelve halls with over two hundred graves laid out in three levels. Another has four hundred burial places. Others are just family vaults. Despite warnings inscribed thereon, the tombs and the chambers appear to have been rifled by robbers during the ages, for few objects of value have been found. Speculation has been rife over a monumental catacomb with a façade of three arches, which was surmounted by an imposing stone stair 20 metres high. In the vault two Hebrew inscriptions are roughly painted: 'Rabbi Simeon,' and 'This is the tomb of Rabbi Gamaliel.' These are the names of the two sons of Rabbi Judah; and the inference is that he and his sons were buried in the vault, and the monumental structure was in his honour. A further piece of circumstantial evidence was the finding in the same vault of an inscription 'Rabbi Anina, the Little.' The Talmud records that the dying patriarch nominated Rabbi Hanina as president of the Sanhedrin. It seems that the inscription marks the place of burial of his successor, the difference in the name being explained by the inability of the Galilean Jews -as the rabbis tell-to pronounce some of the consonants. They dropped their aitches.

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Many of the burials are in stone caskets, or ossuaries, containing the bones of the deceased. It was a regular habit of the Jews, and the Christians, in the early centuries to make place in the tomb chamber for a fresh burial of a member of the family by collecting the bones of the last, and storing them in a casket. That saved ground in a country which was always tiny.

The decoration of the chambers—with the regular ritual symbols: the candelabra, the Ark for the Scrolls of the Law, the shovel for the incense, the ram's horn; and, less often, the figure of a ship (the idea of Outward Bound souls was, it seems, thus early accepted), of animals and growing things—has little artistic distinction. It is the popular art of the Jews of Palestine in the early centuries, when they do not appear to have cultivated artistic excellence. One sarcophagus bears the figures of lions of a primitive design. The inscriptions also are for the most part formal epitaphs, with a warning sometimes against rifling the dead, which unhappily was not heeded. More are in Greek than in Hebrew, a few in Aramaic and the Palmyra language. Occasionally Hebrew words are written in Greek characters. The inscriptions show the wide area from which the buried came: Himyar in Southern Arabia, Mesopotamia, Antioch, the Syrian coast. Here was the place in the Holy Land where the pious and the rich of that period liked to be buried, the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem being denied.

In 1956 an ornate sarcophagus, decorated with the heads of Greek goddesses, but stamped with the Jewish Menora (candelabra), was found in an underground store, and suggests that the undertaker's firm had a stock which might be sold either to Jew or Gentile. Galilee was the region, as we know, of a mixed multitude. The Hebrew name is short for 'Galil Hagoyim,' meaning region of the Gentiles. So, too, in a subterranean store of memorial lamps and glass vessels, many of the lamps bore the sign of the Cross, suggesting that they might be bought by Christian customers, though this burial-ground seems to have been reserved exclusively for Jews. In that period, when the religious tolerance of the pagan Roman Emperors was not yet swept away by the intolerance of an Imperial Christian Church, Jew and Gentile were not separated in their commercial life. Recently and unexpectedly an Arabic inscription was found on the rock. It was a short poem written in black ink by a visitor to the ancient tombs, and he gave the date of his visit

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as the year 289 of the Moslem era, which corresponds with A.D 902. It is a simple poem about fate and immortality, and it proves that the site was known as a necropolis in the Middle Ages. Pottery lamps of the same era found in a tomb-chamber suggest that it was occupied by tomb-robbers.

The work of exploration goes on each year; and we shall learn more from it of the social and spiritual conditions of the Jews in the era in which Judaism was being consolidated, so that it was enabled to face the trials of centuries of dispersion, persecution and homelessness.

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## TREES ACROSS THE WORLD

'THE challenge of afforestation must be met if the world is to be made a better place to live in.' Coming from President Nehru, an assertion which could have been made by any modern sylviculturalist or soil conservationist acquires considerable added significance. India's voice in international politics has been notably for peace, and in home affairs her statesmen have striven towards a corresponding practical interpretation of the Gandhian philosophy of harmonious living. Particularly striking developments have resulted as regards that aspect of environmental equilibrium involving wise use of tree cover.

Originally a sea of forests with scattered islands of cultivation, India has in recent centuries been subjected to severe deforestation. Unlike their Brahmin and Buddhist predecessors, the Mohammedan invaders had little respect for trees, while in the early stages of British rule vast areas were cleared for industrial timber and for plantation purposes. The appointment of an Inspector-General of Forests in 1863, however, demonstrated that the need for scientific management and administration was appreciated. By 1894 forest protection legislation had become firmly established. With the 'New Policy' of 1952 India's forest classification and management underwent drastic revision, thereby following a course of sylvicultural evolution determined on remarkably similar lines in many other parts of the world by the hard lessons of erosion and scarcity.

Four main types of forest are now recognized. They are: (1) National Forests, to meet the needs of industry and transport; (2) Village Forests, for the provision of firewood and small agricultural timber; (3) Protection Forests, the preservation of which is governed by physical and climatic considerations; (4) Amenity Woodlands. These classifications are not necessarily mutually exclusive, since any tree group may be an important local factor in providing shelter, controlling shifting sands, ensuring water and fuel supplies, preventing floods and silting-up of rivers and canals, preserving wild life, and constituting a basic insurance against economic emergencies.

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an ob 28,000 whole from years but the the tiplants under along panies The present forest area is 22 per cent. of the land surface, which compares favourably with the position in many countries. But distribution is uneven. Upland regions are 44 per cent. forested, while the plains, where trees are so badly needed, are almost bare. Where India plans to set the pace is with her ambitious afforestation schemes. It is aimed to bring the total forest area up to 33 per cent. of the land surface, with up to 60 per cent. in areas particularly liable to erosion, and with not less than 20 per cent. on the plains. Two important features of the New Policy are the 'Grow more fuel' campaign and the immobilization of the Rajasthan desert. The introduction of an annual 'Festival of the Trees' has done much to enlist popular enthusiasm. The celebration of annual tree days or weeks, it may be noted, is another sylvicultural development common to many countries, especially in connection with new planting schemes.

Trees are indispensable to man, directly or indirectly, in all manner of ways. Without the sponge-like floor of the forest to absorb rainfall and to regulate river flow, the earth's surface would be a setting for scenes of great elemental violence, of turbulent waters flooding all before them and carrying away the precious soil itself. That mighty rivers out of control rank high among the world's major terrors is nowhere more appreciated than in China. In 1933 the Yellow River drowned 18,000 people and drove over three million from their homes. Half a century earlier it had taken the terrible toll of thirteen million lives in three years—by not flowing at all, for in treeless lands flooding may be followed by equally severe water shortages.

If in India afforestation is an enthusiasm, in China it has become an obsession, a veritable frenzy. In the five years 1953-7 some 28,000,000 acres were afforested—thirty times the area for the whole 1911-46 period. This is the first phase of a bid to fight back from the low-level 9 per cent. forest area reached after five thousand years of deforestation. It has brought the figure up to 10 per cent., but this is only a start. The rate of planting is being accelerated all the time. In the first quarter of 1958 alone 37,000,000 acres were planted. The aim is to have 20 per cent. of China's land surface under forest by 1968. A particularly vigorous drive is in progress along the middle and upper reaches of the Yellow River, accompanied by land reclamation for agricultural purposes; the old bed

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agriculwhich is Amenity ally exactor in and fuel als, preagainst of the river, once bleak and barren, is now green with tree-bordered fields of such crops as wheat, cotton, and groundnuts. Similar schemes are in progress to control the Yangtse and other big rivers. Thousands of miles of shelter belts against wind and sand erosion are also being planted, including the spectacular 1,000-mile Great Wall project to stem the advance of the Gobi Desert. To meet immediate timber requirements much attention has been given to quickgrowing trees such as poplar, willow, eucalyptus and ailanthus. In one way or another it is aimed to transform the entire landscape with 'greenery,' as tree cover is picturesquely termed in China.

Forest conservation planning is also well established in Russia, as befits her rank as a forest colossus in possession of a quarter of the world's forest area. Classification is somewhat as in India, with a distinction between National Forests and Local Forests (which include the 100,000,000 acres allotted for the exclusive use of the collective farms). These two groups comprise 90 per cent. of the total stand, with 5 per cent. Protection Forests, mainly in key water catchment areas, and 5 per cent. Amenity Forests, including nature reserves and 'screening' zones in industrial areas. But, as in India, distribution is uneven. 77 per cent, of the forests are in that part of Russia which has only 19 per cent. of the population. Nearly half the forest area is inaccessible, and in any case much of the timber in the vast northern forests is of poor quality (50 per cent. of all wood cut in the U.S.S.R. is used for fuel, as against only 20 per cent. in western Europe). Good quality hardwoods are scarce, conifers occupying no less than four-fifths of the total stand.

Superimposed on Russia's normal forestry programme is her own gigantic pioneer climate-ameliorating plan to 'change the face of nature.' As much as 30 per cent. of the land area is unproductive, including 13 per cent. desert and semi-desert, and it is in these regions that the most spectacular efforts are being made. Afforestation, in the form of thousands of miles of shelter belts, is being carried out in conjunction with the large-scale construction of canals, dams, irrigation works, and hydro-electricity stations.

In Hungary, too, the reclamation and afforestation programme is associated with a big irrigation drive to bring productivity to many thousands of acres of barren land. The country's 12 per cent. forest cover is to be raised to 20 per cent. by 1970. Agricultural shelter belts (usually between 40 and 100 yards deep) will account for

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840,000 acres. During the annual Tree Week every April some 90,000,000 trees are planted. Similar characteristics are found in the equally ambitious afforestation plans of the other eastern and central European countries. Rumania is concentrating on shelter belts to protect her important grain fields. Bulgaria's 12-year plan for the years 1951-63 calls for the afforestation of 2,457,000 acres, thereby increasing the total from 27 per cent. to 36 per cent. of the country's area. Austria has been the subject of a special F.A.O.1 forestry rehabilitation programme inaugurated in 1949. All the countries in this group suffered heavy deforestation in the two world wars, particularly in hardwoods, and pressure on available timber supplies is increasing. During the last thirty years estimated net annual growth has fallen by 25 per cent. (In Sweden, for a comparison, it has risen by the same figure.) But forest management is excellent (including, in the case of Czechoslovakia, the use of composted organic wastes for manurial purposes, a practice which in many countries has been but slightly exploited even for agriculture). On the whole, the situation is reassuring.

Enlightened utilization of town refuse is also being made in an area where previously neither agriculture nor forestry has been possible-Egypt's newly reclaimed province of Tahreer. With a population density of 5 per acre and 96.5 per cent. of the land surface unproductive desert, Egypt has every reason to explore all such possibilities. The new province adjoins the already intensively farmed Nile Delta area. Water is provided by artesian wells and irrigation canals linking up with the Nile. Fortunately for the success of the project, the land is proving free from the soluble salts which in many arid regions are hostile to plant life except for a few tolerant species. Trees have been planted all along both sides of the canals, as protection against sand-storms. Large quantities of town refuse, transported daily from Cairo and Alexandria, are being ploughed in on the average annual quota of 34,000 acres. The total area to be reclaimed is some 1,200,000 acres, which is as much as one-fifth of the present cultivated area.

The average annual rainfall in Israel is only 14 inches; in the Negev desert it is a mere one inch. Yet this very dry land is being made fertile by imaginative use of such meagre natural resources as exist. A total of 150,000 acres have been brought back into

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cultivation since 1949, while new irrigation schemes are bringing water to the desert wastes which occupy much of the country. The wooded area of Israel is a mere 2.5 per cent, of the total, and only one-tenth of it is productive. But a people resourceful enough to introduce grass-eating carp from Thailand in the interests of pond culture (annual production of fish from which is now running at 7,000 tons) will take reafforestation work in its stride. So far some 30,000,000 trees have been planted. One-ninth of the cultivated area of the country is to be afforested, with eucalyptus featuring as the most important timber tree. Not all the forests will yield commercial timber; some will form nature reserves on hills too poor to give a financial return, and there is fairly extensive use of such dualpurpose trees as wattle for dune fixation and firewood. Israel has also pioneered desert reclamation research at international level. the first Unesco symposium on the problem being held in Jerusalem in May 1952.

Reafforestation in the overpopulated but underproductive Mediterranean basin was the main subject under discussion at the 1957 annual conference of the F.A.O. This region is highly vulnerable to economic blizzards, but it is considered that a strong forestry policy would be the best insurance against unemployment. In addition, most of the Mediterranean countries are in difficulties with their landscape. Soil erosion is advanced, particularly on the mountainsides. Fuel is short, rainfall uncertain, and in the end it is agriculture that has to foot the bill. Iraq, for instance, was recommended to multiply her projected outlay on tree-planting by ten. The impact of centuries of deforestation, burning, overgrazing, and shifting cultivation has been progressively disastrous from the Mediterranean basin to the Arabian Peninsula, with its powderbarrel complex of oil wealth, biological poverty, and political unrest, and from Arabia to that terrible scar on the earth's face larger in size than either Australia or the United States—the Sahara.

In fact, about 40 per cent. of the earth's land surface is either desert or semi-desert, a very considerable portion of it certainly man-made. Apart from the intermediate zones fringing existing deserts, new danger areas such as the American Dust Bowl are now coming into the picture. The Dust Bowl itself has become a symbol of soil-mining nemesis, but it is far from being the only area in the United States where conservation measures are needed. Millions

of acres of rangeland have been heavily overgrazed. The great rivers of the south are running red with worked-out soil. Even in the Ohio to Missouri belt, cherished as 'the richest farm on earth,' erosion has taken its toll. Nevertheless, new philosophies are in the air in this land of rugged free enterprise. Gone are the waves of those early settlers of whom it has been wryly remarked that they 'left little behind but history.' There is slowly increasing recognition of the need to work in line with that supreme farmer and forester, nature. Trees are coming back into New England, recolonizing as a beginning abandoned farms whose owners learned the land-use lesson the hard way. They are coming back in the Rockies, where enlightened lumbermen are now replanting, switching over from clear felling to a sustained yield economy. They are coming back in the South, where the blue haze of burning woods is giving way to vistas of loblolly pine plantations and thriving tree farms rising from the ashes of cotton and tobacco monoculture.

Can man remain cut off from the life of the farm and the forest without suffering? To narrow the range slightly, are tree farms a better proposition than collectively managed forests? For the answer to the first question we should have to dig very deep, but small-scale tree farming is undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with. From Norway to Costa Rica this form of land use has been flourishing for centuries. In Norway more than half of all forest land is owned by farmers and managed as part of their farms. State-owned forests are also important in Scandinavia, but they are situated mainly in areas of sparse population, e.g. Finland, where state forests occupy 34 per cent. of the forest area. In Norway, however, the figure is as low as 7 per cent., and even in the barren coastal regions of the west and north, where a great afforestation drive has been in progress during the last ten years, planting is being subdivided between a large number of private owners occupying on an average only 60 acres. In these regions the struggle for existence has hitherto been hard, and where the state helps is by subsidizing afforestation expenses. In the west the subsidy is 50 per cent.; in the north it was increased in 1954 to 75 per cent. to meet the more difficult conditions in a region much of which lies north of the Arctic Circle. The plan allows for the afforestation of some 1,250,000 acres for the whole 60-year period. For most of these regions climatic conditions are very favourable for trees, especially

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spruce. Norway's contribution towards the search for biological equilibrium may be regarded as particularly well balanced.

In Sweden, too, family farms are the predominant type of property, and woodlands of varying size have always been associated with them. However, lumber and pulp companies have in recent years substantially increased their holdings to about 25 per cent. of the forest area. Sweden is one of the world's leading exporters of forest products, and in view of labour shortages a certain amount of centralization of management, together with increased mechanization, has been called for. But as the forest area is 56 per cent. of the land surface, one of the highest proportions in the world, there is room enough for all types of enterprise.

From country to country similar sylvicultural patterns may be found, though sometimes certain features will be given extra emphasis. Forests can certainly be identified with Finland, for they occupy no less than 72 per cent. of the land area. Family farms are again a feature, together with the big land settlement drive necessitated by the ceding of 12 per cent. of the land area to Russia in 1944. In the ten years to 1954, 5,345,000 acres were colonized, ranging from 40-acre farms with around 70 acres of forest land down to small holdings of 5 to 10 acres with supplementary employment available. In Finland colonization is also closely identified with drainage, since millions of acres are in unproductive swamp.

There is also the interesting example of Iceland, a country not usually thought of in terms of intensive land use. True, two-thirds of the surface area are entirely devoid of vegetation, comprising an unpromising miscellany of bare rock, glaciers, lava fields, and deserts, and only half the rest is considered of agricultural value. But on this land a tenacious subsistence economy is maintained. Apart from the intermittent and often disastrous eruptions of Iceland's numerous volcanoes, the great enemies are wind and sand. In 1882 a sandstorm of exceptional severity caused many farms to be abandoned. Erosion has also been promoted by excessive cutting of trees (mainly birch and willow) for fuel and building materials and by persistent overgrazing. To-day, however, the authorities are fully alive to the need for conservation measures, and they have been helped by two F.A.O. missions, one concerned with reafforestation possibilities, which reported in 1952, the other on soil conservation and pasture management, reporting two years later. State grants for a to 2, speci ticula

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estation ervation e grants for afforestation have been stepped up from 38,800 kroner in 1939 to 2,151,317 kroner in 1955. Apart from the planting of indigenous species, experiments have been made with imported conifers, particularly spruce.

The 'peasant wood-lot' of the Black Forest perhaps hits off the idea of the family tree-farming enterprise as well as any in this class. Farms of 25 to 100 acres occupy as much as three-quarters of the land, and usually about a quarter of each holding is under trees. The situation is similar to that in the remoter French communes: without woodlands, agriculture would be unable to survive at all.

Another promising contribution to agro-sylvo-pastoral equilibrium has been made by a 'new' country, Costa Rica. 50 per cent. of the country is entirely occupied by natural forest, and even in the settled districts a satisfactory state of co-existence has been achieved. In these districts it is difficult to distinguish separate land uses. Windbreaks and shade trees are found on all the plantations and farms, while in the upland dairying region the pastures are periodically planted with a fast-growing alder which can be sold off in ten years as boxwood.

Throughout Central and South America, after a period of feverish exploitation, the need for forest conservation is now being recognized. In Dominica the year 1956 was proclaimed as 'Reafforestation Year.' In Guatemala landowners are changing over to sustained yield systems of forest management, following the advice of an F.A.O. forestry mission. F.A.O. experts have also reported on the situation in Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Haiti. The United Fruit Company is conducting reafforestation projects on its estates in Honduras and Costa Rica.

Even in mighty Brazil, still riotous with forests—her forest area is bigger than that of all the other South American countries combined—erosion has laid waste once prosperous areas and is threatening others. In view of this situation the Forestry Service of the Ministry of Agriculture was completely reorganized in 1954, and is now concerned with all aspects of sylviculture, including forest protection, soil and water conservation, creation of national parks and nature reserves, timber technology, and reafforestation. This farreaching policy gives Brazil a high place in the movement towards integrated land use and nature protection.

In 41 per cent.-forested Venezuela, too, new forestry regulations have been introduced, and are being strictly enforced. Nation-wide campaigns against the burning of wooded areas are being pursued. With timber consumption rising and with her richest forests still to be exploited, Venezuela has wisely tightened up lumbering legislation, and reafforestation projects are making headway in many areas.

While the three European colonies on the Caribbean rank first among the South American countries in terms of the ratio of forest land to total land area—French Guiana 96 per cent., British Guiana 91 per cent., Surinam 84 per cent.—they rank last in terms of timber production. A certain amount of classification and research with a view to possible future exploitation has been carried out, particularly by the British authorities.

A forest cover of 96 per cent. is beyond the reach of more developed countries. In western Europe the best forested country is the smallest: Luxembourg, with 31 per cent., a severe reduction from the 75 per cent. of only a century ago. Much had to be sacrificed in the interests of agriculture, the rate of depletion being hastened by two world wars, with their urgent demands on timber reserves.

The interests of agriculture are also paramount in such countries as Ceylon, whose 7,000,000 population is expected to double itself in 25 years. Four centuries of colonial exploitation and a deeprooted tradition of burning high forest for shifting cultivation, together with the opening up of some 1,500,000 acres for tea and rubber plantations, have left their mark. At 70 per cent. forest cover is still very high, but further reductions are considered unavoidable. About half the forest area is state-owned, but only 17 per cent. of this land is under the control of the Forest Department; the rest is regarded as expendable forest reserved for agricultural colonization. But the administration is well aware of the need for all possible conservation measures; multi-purpose development in the Gal Oya National Park area, for instance, has been commendably integrated.

While agricultural mismanagement can often be rectified within a few years, in forestry recovery may not be so speedy. A forester may never live to see the results of his work—though he may be called upon to deal with troubles originating centuries ago. In

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afforestation getting young trees established is by no means the whole story. Many mistakes were made in the early stages of the U.S.S.R.'s steppe reclamation drive. The soil was insufficiently prepared, rows were too closely spaced at 5 ft. instead of at 8-10 ft. as required by mechanized cultivation, poor quality plants were used, and insufficient protection against cattle was provided.

Few conditions are more harmful to crops than a succession of drying winds which exhaust transpiration quicker than the roots of the plant can renew it. The small townships in the Australian plains usually have a small belt of tall gum trees for protection against the southerlies. It has always been assumed that the presence of the trees would help the crops. Actually, it has done much harm. The reason is that the tall trees soar away from the crops without intervening buffer blocks. Once the wind has passed over the high-strung curtain of foliage, it is forced down with greater force than ever, robbing the land of both moisture and topsoil. It is now realized that to be successful shelter must reach down gradually from about 30 ft. to ground level. By continuous grafting and planting, the gums have been modified in height, and low shrubs have been introduced below the level of the gums. It was then discovered that the dense foliage of some of these shrubs not only stopped the wind but intercepted any soil particles it bore.

Some of the biggest sylvicultural pitfalls may be associated with wrong choice of species, or even of seed. Locality is emphasized by the Continental school as a dominant factor; not only climate but such living complexes as the soil and its micro-organisms, as well as local plant associates and forest fauna, should be as near as possible the same as in the place of origin. On the whole, these considerations are being kept in mind. For instance, botanists are aware that the Australian climate favours a large assortment of trees suitable for many distant countries, and a flourishing export trade in tree seeds has accordingly been established. Trees from Australian stock are now growing in the bleak Atlas Mountains and in the steaming heat of Belgian Congo, in Cyprus and in Hongkong.

In many parts of the world it is being questioned whether enthusiasm for fast-growing exotics has not been too excessive, a notable case in point being eucalyptus. Introduced into Ethiopia sixty years ago to modify the ravages of erosion and overgrazing,

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eucalyptus has now become part of the landscape. Apart from its protective functions, it supplies firewood and small timber for building purposes. But eucalyptus plantations make fairly heavy demands both on soil and water. They may be run on a coppice rotation of up to ten years, spacing in this case being no more than 3 ft., or they may be left to produce timber at forty years, in which case they support about 300 trees per acre. They have thus played their part, but it has now been found that they are drying up the soil unduly, and a counter-movement is in progress to replant with indigenous species.

The indigenous versus exotics problem is particularly acute in connection with New Zealand's big switch from a kauri age to a Pinus radiata economy. Few countries have suffered such tragic deforestation in so short a time, her forest cover crashing in flames from 72 per cent. in 1850 to 24 per cent to-day, the ashes shipped to the ends of the earth as dairy produce and mutton. Of the 17,000,000 acres lost, about 1,000,000 were in kauri-dominant stands; to-day it is doubtful whether more than 50,000 acres of true kauri still survive. The last quarter of a century has seen a big reafforestation drive, especially in hard-hit North Island, but the emphasis has been almost entirely on exotics for rapidity of growth and early maturity. Nearly 1,000,000 acres have now been reafforested, approximately half by private companies and half by the state (including the 200,000-acre Kaingaroa State Forest, the largest man-made forest in the world). The post-war period has been characterized by unprecedented timber demands from home users, and there is also a big market for wood products in Australia. The new Pinus radiata forests rank among the fastest producers of wood cellulose in the world. Scandinavian processing techniques have been successfully adopted, and in many respects future prospects seem healthy. Nevertheless, the situation has its long-range ironies. Fire, disease, and other risks inherent in all monocultures occasion a certain amount of anxiety, and there is now a tendency to plant in mixtures.

Incidentally, New Zealand is allocating a further 1,000,000 acres for land settlement; about 10 per cent. of this reclaimed land has so far been developed, mainly in farms of about 150 acres. Forests and farms are thus both in the picture—side by side. From an economic point of view individually managed tree farms have been found to

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000 acres and has so crests and economic found to compare favourably with collectively managed forests, but the greater problems of land use and human distribution still remain to be reckoned with. Too rigid a distinction between farming and forestry may not suit the soil; no less significantly, it may not suit us.

'Many an owner,' remarks a recent American survey, 'likes his wood lot as it is, and does not think of it as commercial forest land, but rather as a place for getting some firewood and fence posts, doing a little hunting and fishing, or just walking in the woods.' These considerations may not lend themselves to precise definition, but they may count for quite a lot. It is of interest that in a recent French forestry survey the same note is struck:

For a long time some foresters have been principally preoccupied by the technical aspects of reafforestation and by the idea that, since the cultivator and especially the stock-raiser are born enemies of the forest, it was prudent to make their points of contact with it as few as possible. Thus there came to be mass reafforestations, where the tree was supreme and whence men had been driven away. Present-day forestry teaching in France runs counter to such a policy, and affirms that men should continue to live among the trees, for their mutual good.

And while man and trees co-operate for mutual good, the soil is also gaining benefit. 'Forest land,' continues the survey, 'has two essential rôles to play—to protect the soil and to create organic matter.' Further, since the disastrous fires of 1940 and 1950, scientifically controlled 'agricultural nomadism' has been increasingly favoured as ensuring zones of cultivation which can also serve as fire barriers.

Ecologically, the soundest apportionment of the landscape has been held to be represented by 'a minimum of carefully selected, skilfully operated ploughland with a maximum of natural vegetation.' Very close to this ideal is the new style of land use featured in the Mississippi flood prevention project, with trees on the slopes and arable crops in the valleys. Perhaps even closer is the new farm lay-out insisted upon by the authorities in Nigeria. It is required that eight trees per acre shall be maintained on each farm to arrest desert encroachment: crops are grown in between the trees and in no way suffer from their presence.

In short, whatever its other differences, the world is not much at variance as to the importance of maintaining its trees, Right up on the roof of the world they are planting trees, in Tibet and in

Nepal, where a conservation-minded administration is introducing increasingly far-reaching forest management legislation, encouraged in this respect by the recommendations of an F.A.O. advisory mission reporting in 1953. Thousands of miles away, in fully colonized sea-level Holland, they are also planting trees, inspired in this case by the new art of landscaping; 'the appearance of these areas is being transformed,' the authorities claim, 'from Mid-Western wheat belt to a pleasing civilized countryside.'

Both in national and in international affairs the world has hitherto been administered according to predominantly political groupings, with increasing activity in recent times representing commercial and financial groupings. What will emerge from the present stresses and pressures can only be conjectured, but some of the new mechanism of administration may be already in existence. Biologists to-day are seeking the crux of evolution, not in change itself, but in 'preadaptation.' Before a species begins to change, the potential mechanism of change has already been installed, it is held. On this assumption it is permissible to see possibilities of more informed and more soundly balanced supervision in the rise of such bodies as the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

The First World Forestry Congress was held at the International Bureau of Agriculture in Rome in 1926. The Fourth World Forestry Congress, sponsored this time by F.A.O., was held in India in 1954. The Fifth World Forestry Congress is scheduled to meet in the U.S.A. in 1960—a major occasion, we may be confident, in the search to make the world a better place to live in.

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## V.I.Ps. on British Commonwealth Stamps

For many years countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations have produced stamps as tributes to world personalities who helped in the development of the old 'British Empire.'

While some of the stamps issued in their honour have typified them in portrait format, many issues have carried scenes relating to their individual discoveries, anniversaries, or accomplishments.

Discoverer of Newfoundland, Italian navigator John Cabot, who set out from Bristol in 1497 to find a new route to Asia, and received £10 and a pension of £20 a year for his discovery, has been honoured on stamps from Newfoundland. His portrait; his ship, The Matthew, with a crew of 18, leaving the Avon; and a scenic view of his landfall, Cape Bonavista, were shown in the set distributed in 1897 for the fourth centenary of his discovery.

A further distinction was paid Cabot on the single 1947 stamp put out by the island authorities, when the navigator was portrayed on the deck of the *Matthew* as it stood off Cape Bonavista. The issue coincided with the 450th anniversary of his discovery.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, figured in the set of stamps in 1933 marking the 350th anniversary of the island's annexation on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I. Gilbert's portrait (from an engraving in a Dutch travel book of 1620) formed one design; another included his Coat of Arms and anchor token; while the scene, with Gilbert being commissioned by the Queen for the annexation; his departure from Plymouth; arrival at St John's; and the annexation ceremony, were also included.

In addition, Gilbert's statue in the Cathedral at Truro, with views of Compton Castle, Devon, where he was born in 1539, and of Eton College, where he was educated, comprised other designs. One of the most interesting designs was on the 15-cents value, showing Gilbert at the tiller of his small ship, Squirrel, in which he lost his life when he became separated from the rest of his party in a storm on his way back to Britain, in 1583. The last words of encourage-

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ment he uttered, 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land," appeared on the stamp.

Colonized in 1610, Newfoundland indicated the 300th anniversary of that event in eleven stamps, one of which portrayed John Guy, the merchant and Bristol alderman, who with a party of forty established the first settlement at Cape Bonavista, in 1610; another stamp pictured his ship the Endeavour; while Sir Francis Bacon, the eminent historian, philosopher, and statesman, who was 'the guiding spirit' in the colonizing scheme, was likewise typified.

A 5-cents stamp issued in 1942 related to the work of Sir Wilfred Grenfell, the medical missionary who devoted his life to the welfare of the natives of Labrador by establishing for them mission stations, schools, orphanages, hospitals, and hospital ships. The design depicted Grenfell on his ship, the Strathcona, with a hospital vessel in the distance, and was after a painting by Gribble.

General James Wolfe, Commander of the British forces in New France, as Canada was then called, during the battle for this territory, was pictured on a Canadian stamp printed in 1908. Montcalm, the opposing French general, who, as well as Wolfe himself, was killed during the battle of the Heights of Abraham, in 1759, was also featured on the same stamp. The stamp, one of eight, signalized the 300th anniversary of the foundation of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain.

Also recalled in this printing was *Jacques Cartier*, St Malo-born explorer and discoverer of Canada, represented on one stamp along with Champlain; while Cartier's arrival before Quebec in 1535 and Champlain's departure by canoe up the river St Lawrence on a voyage of exploration were included. Another stamp viewed Champlain's house at Quebec, in which city, while still serving as Lieut-Governor of Canada, he died in 1635.

Cartier, meanwhile, first appeared on Canadian stamps in 1855, and was again the featured subject for a large 1934 stamp from the Dominion, observing the 400th anniversary of his arrival in Canada; this typified the scene of excitement on board his ship, as with Cartier on deck, surrounded by his crew, he approached land.

Interestingly enough, Cabot's ship, the *Matthew*, on a 1949 stamp from Canada signified his discovery of the former Newfoundland colony in 1497, and marked the admission of Newfoundland to the Canadian Confederation.

Political personalities have appeared on a number of Canadian stamps. This included the 1927 series commemorating the sixtieth year of Confederation, the union of the provinces being visioned by Thomas McGee, Sir John Macdonald, and Sir George Etienne Cartier (a descendant of Jacques Cartier), all included in portraits. McGee, an Irishman, went to Canada in 1837, and the former Scots lawyer Macdonald became United Canada's first Prime Minister. Also pictured were Sir Wilfrid Laurier, French-Canadian statesman, who in 1910 laid the foundations of the Canadian Navy; Robert Baldwin and L. H. la Fontaine, who both contributed to Canada's political development.

Former Prime Ministers have been recognized periodically since 1951, most of whose portraits have been taken from photos in the Public Archives at Ottawa. Sir Robert Borden, who was Prime Minister from 1911 to 1920, and William Lyon Mackenzie King, in office from 1921 to 1930 and again from 1935 to 1948, at work at his desk, figured in the series.

In 1952 Sir John Abbott, Prime Minister from 1891 to 1893, was included, and second Prime Minister of the Dominion, Alexander Mackenzie, who came from Scotland, and served as Leading Statesman from 1863 to 1878, came in for due honour postally.

Sir John Thompson (1892-4), born in Nova Scotia, was shown in the third 'Former Prime Ministers' series in 1954, with the portrait of Sir Mackenzie Bowell (1894-6). Bowell went to Canada from Britain at the age of ten. Richard D. Bennett, Prime Minister from 1930 to 1935, highlighted a 1955 stamp, being leader of the Conservative Party from 1927; while Sir Charles Tupper, a strong campaigner for Confederation and a former Canadian High Commissioner in Britain in 1884, who held office as Prime Minister in 1896, was honoured at the same time.

A portrait of Alexander Graham Bell, Edinburgh-born inventor in 1876 of the telephone, was the object of a special Canadian stamp which in 1947 coincided with the centenary of his birth. Inventor and scientist, Bell died in 1922 in Canada.

Migrating to Canada at the age of thirteen, David Thompson, featured with sextant in hand and looking towards a map of North America, appeared on a 1957 issue, made on the occasion of the centenary of his birth. Thompson distinguished himself in

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Christopher Columbus, one of the most familiar of world stamp personalities, has been commemorated on stamps from several of the British West Indies territories, including St Kitts, Jamaica, Grenada, Trinidad, and the Bahamas. The Bahamas in 1942 observed the 450th anniversary of his discovery of the New World, with overprinted stamps, with a 1903 stamp from St Kitts depicting the navigator on his ship peering at the approaching land through a telescope (an instrument not invented until long after Columbus' death). This issue indicated the discovery of the islands in 1493. The landing ceremony on Jamaica, in 1494, was shown on 1920 pictorial stamps there.

Current stamps from Barbados displayed the eighteen-foot-high bronze statue in Bridgetown, the capital, and erected in memory of England's greatest Admiral, *Horatio Lord Nelson*, in 1813. In 1906 other stamps featured the commemoration memorial when the centenary of his famous victory over the Spanish and French naval forces at Trafalgar was celebrated. The statue, designed by British sculptor Sir Richard Westmacott and situated in Trafalgar Square, recognized Nelson as the 'preserver of the British West Indies.'

An incident in the career of Dutchman Johannes van Riebeck—his arrival at Capetown in the ship Drommedaris, in 1652, to found a provisioning depot—has since 1926 been a familiar design for South African stamps. But the Union circulated additional stamps in 1952 connected with the tercentenary of the landing in Table Bay. A painting by Dirck Craey, of the navigator, in the Museum at Amsterdam, served as one design, while the actual landing episode (after a painting by Charles Bell) was used on a second value. Van Riebeck's three ships in Table Bay, his official seal and monogram, were likewise represented, along with a portrait of Maria de la Quellerie, Van Riebeck's first wife.

Two further stamps were provided by South Africa for the centenary of Pretoria, capital city of Transvaal, which occurred in 1956. Portraits of two early presidents of the South African Republic were used. One was of 'Oom Paul' Kruger and the other Marthinus Wessel Pretorius. Pretorius was the first South African Republic president and named Pretoria after his son, when he originally acquired two farms on the banks of the Apies River.

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Stephannus Johannes Paulus Kruger (3d. issue) was born in Cape Colony in 1825, emigrated to Orange Free State and to Transvaal, of which he was vice-president when it was annexed by Britain in 1877. He was president from 1883 to 1902, but on the outbreak of the South African War he fled to Holland and then to Switzerland, where he died in 1904.

When the 1955 Union Covenant Celebrations were held in the Natal capital, Pietermaritzburg, a stamp bearing the likeness of Andries Pretorius, the 'Hero of the Blood River,' the Voortrekker victory over the Zulus under Dingaan in 1838, was issued. The design also incorporated the flag of Natal and an outline view of the 'Church of the Vow' (now a national museum), built to signify Pretorius' victory. Andries was the father of Marthinus Pretorius.

One other African territory, Sierra Leone, ceded to Britain in 1787 as an asylum for negroes and African negro slaves rescued from North America, West Indies, and slave ships, produced a thirteen-value commemoration stamp issue during 1933, simultaneously observing the centenary of the death of William Wilberforce and the abolition of slavery, a cause which he championed.

None of the stamps carried his effigy, but several designs, symbolizing freedom, showed a slave discarding his chains and the old Slave Market at Freetown. Wilberforce, acknowledged as one of the 'world's greatest humanitarians,' died the year slavery was abolished in all British possessions.

Great Britain did issue stamps to celebrate the Jubilee Jamboree of Scouting, at Warwickshire in 1957, but no other British Commonwealth country recognized the occasion, kept up as the centenary year of the birth of Lord Baden Powell, as B.P., the founder in 1907 of the Scout movement. Nevertheless in 1900 his portrait, as a colonel, did appear on stamps produced in Mafeking for 'local' use only, during that town's seven-months siege by the Boers.

Cecil John Rhodes, who went to the 'dark continent' of Africa in 1870, and was head of the British South Africa Company when Southern Rhodesia was annexed by Britain, has been the subject of several African stamps. A photo taken at Fort Royal in 1887 was the basis of one stamp produced by Southern Rhodesia for the national jubilee of 1940, and a 3d. value illustrated the historic scene in 1896, in the Matapo Hills, with Rhodes and three countrymen engaged in 'peace' talks with the rebellious Matabele natives.

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red in Repubother African nen he er. . One of the Southern Rhodesian 1953 pictorial stamps featured Rhodes' grave in the Matopo Hills, twenty miles from Bulawayo, where he was buried in 1902, on the site originally dedicated by him for those 'who deserved well of their country.'

However, both Southern and Northern Rhodesia in 1953 circulated stamps to acknowledge the centenary of Rhodes' birth, the former series using pictorial designs symbolizing progress and development, with the 2d. denomination featuring his effigy. Portraits of Rhodes against a view of the Victoria Falls and of Queen Elizabeth II highlighted the Northern Rhodesian five-value printing.

The celebrated Victoria Falls, 1½ miles wide and 400 feet at its highest drop, a feature of the Zambezi River, near the western border of Rhodesia, was shown to advantage on the two stamps from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which in 1955 observed the discovery of the Falls in 1855. Scots-born missionary and explorer, *David Livingstone*, serving the people of 'darkest Africa' for thirty-three years, made the discovery of the Victoria Falls, and was honoured with a portrait in the foreground of the 1s. value.

Admiral Bertrand François Mahe Labourdonnais, Governor of the 'Ile de France' (as Mauritius was called) between 1734 and 1746, figured on a stamp distributed by Mauritius—off Africa—in 1899, in commemoration of the bicentenary of his birth. A 25-cents 1950 pictorial stamp carried a view of the statue to the Admiral's memory, established near the entrance to Government House, at Port Louis.

Meanwhile, the bronze statue to Grand Master Antonio Manuel de Vilhena, of the Knights of St John, who ruled Malta from 1722 to 1736, was represented on Maltese pictorial stamps. The memorial is situated in the Maglio Gardens at Floriana, the Valetta suburb he founded. The scene depicting the triumphant entry of the first Grand Master, Philippe Villiers de L'Isle Adam, into M'dina in 1530 comprised the design of another pictorial printing of 1938, the design being copied from a painting by the artist Favray in the National Museum, Valetta. The ornamental statue of the Grand Master Cottoner, one of the two Spanish Grand Masters of Malta, and one of the architectural landmarks of the Co-Cathedral of St John in Valetta, highlighted the 2s. 6d. stamp of 1956.

Australian stamps have long honoured the achievements of

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pioneers associated with early history. Before Federation, N.S.W. printed stamps in respect to the centenary of the former colony, and used the hatless portrait of *Captain James Cook*, 'The Columbus of Australia,' through his discovery of the eastern coast of Australia in 1770, on the 4d. stamp.

The same series included medallions of Arthur Phillip, who as commander of the "First Fleet" to N.S.W., became the first Governor, an office he held from 1788 to 1792, steering it through difficult times; and of Lord Carrington, State Governor from 1885 to 1890.

Additionally, three stamps appeared in 1937 for the celebrations publicizing the 150th anniversary of the founding of N.S.W., and the basis for the design was a reproduction of the oil painting done in 1926 by the eminent Australian artist, John Alcott. This illustrated Governor Phillip, at Sydney Cove early in 1788, tasting the water from the nearby 'Tank' stream, an incident that resulted in the selection of Sydney as the site of the colony instead of Botany Bay, suggested originally by Cook.

In 1930 a portrait of Sir Charles Sturt (a painting by J. H. Crossland in the Art Gallery, Adelaide), one of the most heroic and daring of Australian explorers, who arrived in Australia in 1827, as a Captain of the 39th Regiment, was shown on two stamps. These were struck in celebration of Sturt's epic exploration of the 'broad and noble' Murray River, from Gundagai, N.S.W., to its mouth at Lake Alexandrina, South Australia, in a whaleboat—an event which helped to solve the 'mystery' of Australia's inland rivers.

Noted airman, Sir Charles Kingsford Smith, at one stage holder of eleven aviation records, and the first to fly the Pacific, the Tasman, and first to circumnavigate the globe by air at the Equator, was honoured postally in 1931. Two commemorative and one airmail stamp were included in recognition of 'Smithy's' world-wide and record-breaking flights, and represented the famous monoplane, 'Southern Cross,' used by the airman on many of his flights, in mid-air between the two hemispheres. The Fokker-built machine is now permanently housed at Eagle Farm Airport, Brisbane, 'Smithy's' birthplace.

Three stamps issued in 1934 to commemorate the centenary of the death of *John Macarthur*, a former officer of the N.S.W. Corps, who through his experiments with sheep breeding won for himself the title of 'Father' of the wool industry. A champion Merino sheep,

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one of the types he helped to evolve, posed against Camden, where Macarthur had a 5,000-acre estate for his breeding, was the topic. This ram had sold in 1934 for the then record sum of £6,000.

The likeness of Sir Thomas Mitchell, soldier, explorer, writer, and statesman, and one-time Surveyor-General of N.S.W., was included on a trio of stamps printed in 1946. The occasion was the centenary of one of his four major inland excursions, that of the exploration of the rich pastoral region of the Darling Downs, in central Queensland. A map of the northern state, some cattle and sheep, which flourish on the Downs, flanked the portraiture.

Lieutenant John Shortland, in 1797, was the 'accidental' discoverer of the present-day site of Newcastle, the 'Steel City,' in northern N.S.W., while he was searching for some convicts who had escaped from Sydney, in the region of the Hunter River. It was apt that his portrait should be shown on a 2½d. value of a three-stamp set in 1947, marking the sesquicentenary of Newcastle. A strange error in design occurred with the picture in that Lieutenant John Shortland, Senior, who accompanied Phillip in the 'First Fleet' to Sydney in 1788, was reproduced instead of his son, Lieutenant John Shortland, Jnr.!

The inclusion of a stalk of wheat alongside the portrait of William James Farrer, on a 1948 stamp, related to Farrer's numerous experiments with wheat breeding, to produce sturdy rust-resisting strains. Coming to Australia in 1870 for health reasons, Farrer first took employment as a tutor, but interest in agriculture turned his attention to wheat breeding, introducing some thirty-three types. It had been hoped that stamps would appear in 1945 to coincide with the centenary of his birth.

While the Australian Council of Scientific Societies in 1947 originally proposed the issue of a stamp to commemorate the arrival in Australia of Baron Sir Ferdinand Jakob von Mueller, the noted geographer, scientist, and botanist, a stamp to him did not eventuate until 1948. Born of Danish parents in Germany, von Mueller, among many feats, inaugurated in 1852 the beautiful Botanic Gardens, Melbourne, introduced health-giving eucalyptus trees to many parts of the world, and produced medicinal oils from the eucalyptus leaves, which appear in the portrait.

The suggestion for a stamp as a compliment to Australia's greatest writer and national poet, Henry Lawson, whose writings

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possessed a 'peculiarly Australian flavour' and were written about the ordinary people in simple language, was made to the authorities in 1947 by the Fellowship of Australian Writers. Consequently, the stamp bearing his picture (from a sketch by his old friend Sir Lionel Lindsay, a noted Australian artist) and his signature made its debut during 1949, on the occasion of the eighty-second anniversary of his birth.

In 1951 the Jubilee of Australian Federation was celebrated in four stamps, two of which portrayed 'architects' of the Federation project. One featured *Sir Henry Parkes*, the 'Father,' who campaigned for unity of the Australian colonies under the theme of 'One People—One Destiny,' who had entered politics in 1854 and became five times Premier of N.S.W.

The other celebrity was Australian-born Sir Edmund Barton (1849–1920), who, entering politics in 1879, achieved fame in becoming the first Prime Minister of the newly-formed Australian Commonwealth, between 1901 and 1903. After that he was appointed senior judge of the High Court of Australia.

The 100th anniversary of the discovery of gold by Edward Hargraves in 'payable quantities,' at Bathurst, N.S.W., fell due in 1951, for which a stamp illustrating the English-born seaman, beachcomer, sheep farmer, and cattle producer was printed. The design was from Hargraves' own book, Australia and Its Goldfields, written in 1854. For his 'find' Hargraves received £13,000 and a pension of £250 a year for life.

Lord Forrest of Bunbury (Western Australia), surveyor and statesman, one of a family of explorers, was characterized by a stamp introduced in 1949. A compass and a scrolled map of Australia emphasized the extent of his exploration pursuits, while as a statesman he was in 1890 elected first Prime Minister of Western Australia, and likewise a member of the first Federal Parliament. He died at sea in 1918 en route to England.

The sesquicentenary of settlement of the island of Tasmania was remembered in 1953 with three stamps, two of which featured Lieutenant-Governors David Collins and William Paterson. The former landed at Sullivan Cove, Derwent River, where Hobart now stands, in 1804, and was Governor of the region until his death at Hobart in 1810.

Paterson meantime, arriving in Australia in 1791, and a former

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stralia's writings Advocate General of N.S.W., established a settlement at Port Dalrymple, later Launceston, in Northern Tasmania, in 1804. He had achieved distinction as a botanist and explorer, helped to depose Governor Bligh (when he took over the Government of N.S.W.), and died in 1810 on his way to England.

It was appropriate that a portrait of a modern nurse and one of Florence Nightingale, 'The Lady with the Lamp' and the pioneer of modern nursing standards and methods, should be used on a stamp offered in 1955 as a tribute to the Australian nursing profession, 'A Tradition of Service.' Commemorating the centenary of Miss Nightingale's work for wounded and ailing troops in the Crimea, the portrait of her was taken from an official nursing publication. The lamp she held in her hand was copied from the original she used, and which is now in the Florence Nightingale Hospital, London.

Australia's contribution to exploration and research in the Antarctic regions was evidenced by a new 2s. stamp, issued in 1957, publicizing the work of the Australian National Antarctic Research Expedition. Based on an official photograph, the design represented Mr Phillip Law, Senior Scientific Officer with the 1947 expedition, but nowadays the Director of the Antarctic Division of the Australian Department of External Affairs, with Dr Arthur Gwynn, ornithologist, and Mr Peter Shaw, meteorologist, raising the Australian flag at the Vestfold Hills area of the Australian Antarctic Territory (area 2,472,000 square miles) during 1954.

New Zealand stamps have furthered the theme of postally publicizing pioneers, because a number from this Dominion depicted Captain James Cook, the first white man to set foot on New Zealand soil. The first time was when the authorities issued stamps in 1906 to mark an Exhibition at Christchurch. Cook was seen making his landing in 1769, on the North Island, at Poverty Bay, so named because of the scarcity of food and water it offered.

In 1935 a 2s. stamp again represented Cook, in a close-up rendering, with his party at the bay, with the 368-ton bark *Endeavour* offshore. However, the 1d. value of the 1940 'centennial' series, acknowledging British sovereignty, in tripartite format, illustrated the *Endeavour*; a map of New Zealand compiled after Cook's six months' survey; and a bust study of the navigator by Sir Thomas

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Brock, from the statue erected to his memory near the Admiralty Arch, London, in 1914.

The 2d. denomination of the same 'centennial' sequence carried an impression of Abel Tasman, a captain in the Dutch East Indies Company, who sighted the west coast of New Zealand in 1642, and named it 'Staten Landt,' believing it to be the Great South Land. Tasman's likeness (from a portrait by J. McDonald, in the Turnbull Library, Wellington); his ship, the 60-ton Heemskirk; and his chart of the Dominion, served as the overall design piece.

The Treaty of Waitangi, the 'Magna Carta' of New Zealand, signed by some forty Maori chiefs at Waitangi in 1840, was recorded by the 1940 2½d. 'centennial' value. This pictured Lieut.-Governor William Hobson watching Chief Kawhiti signing the Treaty, witnessed by Rev. Henry Williams (ex-naval officer and interpreter) and Lieutenant Shortland. This motif was from the bas relief of the 'Diamond Jubilee' monument to Queen Victoria in Wellington.

Founder of Canterbury and the inspiring leader of the original settlers, John Robert Godley identified the 3d. stamp of a set of labels printed in 1950 in commemoration of the centenary of the inauguration of the Canterbury Province. Godley was represented by the statue to him, situated in Cathedral Square, Christchurch; the immigrant ship Crecy, which arrived at Port Lyttelton in 1850, figured behind the memorial. After two years at the settlement, Godley returned to England.

Sir Frederick Truby King (1858–1938), founder in 1907 of one of the Dominion's leading philanthropic organizations, the Plunkett Society (originally the Royal New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children), was the popular topic of a special 1957 stamp. The occasion was the jubilee of the society, whose present name is derived from Lady Plunkett, first patron and wife of the then Governor. The founder, Sir Truby King, initially trained as a banker, then took up medicine; the society he inaugurated contributed greatly to the health and happiness of women in childbirth.

One of four stamps struck in 1957 by New Zealand for the use of its Antarctic Expedition to the Ross Dependency, a 175,000-square-mile area of barren iceland, displayed two Polar explorers, in Sir Ernest Shackleton and Captain Robert Scott, against a map of the New Zealand dependency. Irish-born Shackleton served in

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the famous Discovery under Scott in 1901, which visited the Ross Sea area, and later commanded the Nimrod in 1907-9, having in 1914 led a Trans-Antarctic expedition crossing. He died at South Georgia in 1922 when engaged on another Antarctic expedition.

Robert Falcon Scott was for twelve years occupied in Antarctic exploration work, having led an expedition to the White Continent in 1900-4 in the *Discovery* and visited the Ross Sea in 1910. He reached the South Pole in 1912, but perished before the base depot could be reached on the return journey.

H.M.S. *Erebus*, the 370-ton ship in which Captain James Ross discovered the Ross Sea area in 1841, and the active volcano of Mt. Erebus, on Ross Island, with an altitude of 13,370 feet, formed the design of the 3d. stamp.

Pacific Island countries have not forgotten the V.I.Ps., who from time to time visited and made their individual contributions to world history.

Memories of the 'Mutiny on the *Bounty*' of 1789 were recalled by stamps issued by Pitcairn Island in 1940 and in 1957.

Western Samoa capitalized on the romantic association with the Scottish author and novelist, Robert Louis Stevenson, by devoting a number of its pictorial stamps to him. The 6d. and 1s. stamps of the 1935 series illustrated 'Vailima,' the home he built on the island of Upolu, to which he went for health reasons in 1890.

The Rev. John Williams, sent by the London Missionary Society to the Society Islands in 1817, appeared on a 1949 stamp from the Cook Islands. This adopted his portrait, a map of Raratonga, the main island of the group where he began his missionary activities, and a picture of his missionary ship, The Messenger of Peace.

One of the four Papuan stamps circulated in 1934 for the jubilee of the territory as a British Protectorate showed the hoisting of the Union Jack at Port Moresby in 1884 from a contemporary newspaper illustration. Inset portraits featured Commodore Erskine, who proclaimed the eastern part of New Guinea as a British Protectorate, and of Boe Vagi, recognized head native of the Port Moresby district.

Second of the designs comprised the scene on board H.M.S. Nelson, at anchor in Port Moresby in 1884, with Commodore Erskine in company with Revs. Laws and James Chalmers (the latter killed by cannibals in 1901) of the London Missionary Society

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Countries of South-East Asia within the British Commonwealth celebrating important figures include India, four of whose stamps on issue in 1948, and inscribed in Hindi and Urdu 'Father,' displayed portraits of *Mahatma Gandhi*, patriot and social reformer and 'architect of Indian freedom and the apostle of non-violence.' The issue was made to coincide with the first anniversary of the republic's independence.

Meanwhile the 'Father of Pakistan,' Mohammed Ali Jinnah, in 1947 first Governor-General of the Pakistani republic, was remem-

bered by two separate stamp printings.

Naturalist Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) was born in Jamaica, served with the East India Company, was Governor of Java, and in 1819 founded Singapore as a trading post. The latter incident accounts for the statue erected to him which, designed by Sir Thomas Woolner and unveiled by Sir Frederick Weld during the Jubilee celebrations of 1887, exists in Singapore, and was used to identify one of the territory's 1955 pictorial stamps.

From 1869 until 1947, when the country became a Crown Colony, stamps for the former independent native state of Sarawak featured portraits of the 'White Rajahs,' members of the Brooke Family, who ruled Sarawak from 1841. First Rajah was Sir James Brooke (1803–68), an English military officer, who received Sarawak from the Sultan of Brunei in return for services rendered him in fighting barbarous tribes.

Successor to Sir James, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke (1829–1917), his nephew, ruled the state for fifty-four years, from 1863 to 1917, when, in turn, his son, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke (born 1874), took over. All three 'White Rajahs' jointly appeared on the four stamps, originally prepared for release in 1941 to honour the centenary of the 'Dynasty,' but owing to the Japanese occupation, not released until 1946.

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## THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS

THE conflict between religion and law is one that flares up from time to time, and the denunciation of lawyers is something that finds more than an echo in the Gospels. It has emerged again of late in the pronounced division between the Church and the Legislature on the question of divorce and re-marriage of divorced persons, and it is to be seen once more in the line which was drawn in the report of a recent Committee between conduct which is to be condemned on grounds of Christian morality and conduct which the State should prohibit and punish as a crime. Such differences are inevitable once it is realized that the Church must legislate for its members, the State for all its citizens; but anyone who has given even summary study to English law and has at the same time a working acquaintance with the interpretation which the Churches have given to the writings of the Old and New Testaments, will be more struck by the way in which the two have run on parallel lines than by any divergencies that have arisen between them. It is instructive how the two have sometimes borrowed the one from the other, how the two have helped each other, and how as time goes on sometimes the one and sometimes the other has scored a somewhat Pyrrhic victory.

Let the reader consider first of all one very simple example of almost complete convergence. Nearly everyone has at some time or other been the lessee or tenant of a house or piece of land. If he will take the trouble to consult his lease or tenancy agreement he will find that he holds his plot subject to certain restrictive covenants. There are, for example, certain purposes for which he may not use it—he may not, perhaps, hang out the washing on the garden wall, and he may not carry on 'a business' on the premises. The nature and number of such covenants is legion and every lease and tenancy agreement, worthy of the name, will contain some of them. Now let us go a little further. There is no use putting covenants in a lease unless the man who puts them there, here the lessor, is given some handle ('sanctions' is the proper legal term) by which he may enforce their observance. So if the reader will peruse his lease

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somewhat further he will find that if over a certain period of time he breaks his covenants and disregards his pledges, the lessor has the right to step in, to terminate the lease, and eject the lessee from his hearth and home. It is true that since comparatively modern times the lessee when threatened with ejection is given certain rights of relief against 'forfeiture,' and if he remedies his breach within reasonable time can usually claim a locus pænitentiæ, but subject to all this it still remains good law that ejection from the land and forfeiture of the lease is the condign penalty for breach of covenant.

Bearing his lease in mind let the reader turn to a very early chapter in the Bible, in fact the second chapter of the Book of Genesis. He will find there that his progenitor, Adam, after he had been created and blessed with a partner, was put in possession of a certain holding, the 'Garden of Eden.' But his possession was made subject to a certain restrictive covenant: he could eat of the fruit of every tree except one, and if he broke the covenant he was liable to forfeiture in its most extreme terms, even death. Adam, like the rest of us, on the persuasion of his partner, broke his covenant. 'They knew not eating death,' and without any locus pænitentiæ they were 'doomed to sorrow, toil, and death and driven from the garden.' Surely even in the most modern lease we have here a conception of law borrowed directly from Holy Writ, and even following out in minute detail the requirements which religion put upon our first parents.

But the analogy between the Garden of Eden and English law of recent time does not stop there. Adam's covenant was one that 'ran with the land.' According to the language of the Westminster Confession the covenant was not only made with Adam personally, but 'with all his posterity.' If Adam had consulted a lawyer (some lewd fellows might say that one was not far to seek) he would have been told, no doubt to his satisfaction, that he had covenanted for 'his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns,' and that they were all bound. Hence the general fall of all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, and the origin of the doctrine of original sin which has been with us ever since. Surely we have here a pertinent example of how closely the English law of land tenure has been moulded after the first example of landed possession that we have in the Bible: the analogy is so exact that it cannot be brushed aside as accidental.

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Then, approaching the subject with all reverence, we know that mankind having broken the 'covenant of works' and found it impossible of fulfilment, was in the fullness of time made to be a partaker in the 'Covenant of Grace' and an inheritor of all the promises. It is noteworthy that exactly such a mitigation was made in the English common law. Those who are familiar with the origin of the Court of Chancery and its administration of Equity, will remember that in its beginning, in the reign of Edward 1, the theory of Equity owed its inception to a desire to abate the rigours of the common law. From being an instrument of justice the common law was in grave danger of being debased into an instrument of oppression. It was rigid, harsh, unyielding, enforcing the bond without any respect to anything but the letter. The office of the Chancellor, who was in early days an ecclesiastic, owed its origin to the theory that justice was of Grace rather than of law, that the king's courts had a conscience to obey as well as a sword to wield. People whose ideas of Chancery are drawn from Bleak House will perhaps smile at the suggestion that a Court of Chancery could be associated with the quality of mercy, but if so they can know little of what the common law once meant to the generality of citizens. It is no light matter, for instance, that the whole framework of the legal rights of married women and infants owed its very being to the existence of a Chancellor who was the 'Keeper of the King's Conscience,' Again, the mortgagor instead of being foreclosed was given his 'equity of redemption,' which remains to this day his shield and buckler against oppression and extortion; the tenant who was dispossessed because he could not 'observe his covenants to do them' was also given his right of 'relief' against forfeiture whereby if he showed himself contrite and repentant the court could save him from the rigour of a law which would rob him of his acres without redress.

No one who looks at the history of the development of equity can close his eyes to the conclusion that the softening of the common law was largely influenced by a fresh recognition among lawyers, at least among those of them who were also ecclesiastics, that the laws of a country should be brought into line with the eternal purposes working through the spiritual world. Force is lent to this view by the fact that the framers of the Westminster Confession of Faith, who sat as a sort of Royal Commission to settle Protestant doctrine in

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as it direct to m skul 1647, numbered among them a strong legal element—the legal language and wording of the document which they composed betrays the hand of the lawyer at every page: Selden, whose *Table Talk* is still the admiration of the legal world, was an active member of the Commission, and must have drafted some of the clauses of the Confession.

So much for one of the main parts played by religion, or if you like, the Church, in the mitigation of the common law. It is to be remembered that the rules of Equity which were so evolved had no reference to the criminal courts. There was no equitable jurisdiction within the purlieus of the Old Bailey, and for this very reason the reform of the criminal law was long delayed. Let the man who says the foundation of the Court of Chancery did no good remember that. Yet in the definition of the law of homicide, which was painfully evolved by lawyers such as Hale, Hawkins, and Coke, it is noteworthy that the broad distinction between murder and manslaughter is taken almost direct from the old code of Deuteronomy. Turning there to chapter 4, verses 41 and 42, we read:

41. Then Moses severed three cities on this side Jordan towards the Sun rising.

42. That the slayer might flee thither which should kill his neighbour unawares and hated him not in times past and that fleeing to one of these cities he might live.

And again at chapter 19, verses 11 and 12,

11. But if a man hate his neighbour and lie in wait for him and rise up against him and smite him mortally that he die and flee unto one of these cities.

12. Then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence and deliver him unto the hand of the avenger of blood that he may die.

The criminal lawyer will see in these verses the germ of that distinction between murder and manslaughter which cuts through the law of homicide. The lawyers can, of course, be trusted to have introduced a few refinements, and that 'malice aforethought,' which became such a feature of the indictment for murder, is not so simple as it looks. Malice can be implied from conduct as well as from direct evidence, and the intention to murder may not take very long to mature. If I strike down a man with a heavy axe, cleaving his skull, it will not be much good to tell the jury that I did not intend to

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murder him. Then there was that dark doctrine of 'constructive malice' which the recent Homicide Act was intended to scotch: but, by and large, the line drawn in Deuteronomy has been accepted as the fundamental test. Now under the Homicide Act of 1957 another line has been drawn by which certain types of killing still remain murder, but the death penalty has been taken away from them. He who does them may flee to the city of refuge and still live, even though he hated his neighbour and lay in wait. The heinousness of the crime is not the test, but the social implications that flow from it. If I poison my neighbour through a long process requiring the most careful planning and execution, I may not die, but if I shoot him with a revolver, then if the other element of malice be present, I must die the death. Whether this is to be the final stage in the law of homicide, only the history of the next few years of criminal administration will be able to tell.

The above examples of how the law has drawn upon the precepts of Holy Writ have been chosen merely to show how certain doctrines of the Church have been woven into our business and social life so clearly and obviously as to force to the conclusion that the process has not been fortuitous but has been deliberately planned. The lawyer has not merely adopted general principles taken from the Christian religion, but has actually embodied in our jurisprudence certain rules of conduct that are directed to specific sets of circumstances such as land tenure, homicide, and property held in trust. The process is further borne out by the use of certain terms of language which are common both to law and Christianity, but here it must be pointed out that the meaning now given these in law has deviated considerably from their original meaning in the language of the theologians. Whether this marks a deterioration or not is an open question. Examples of these terms are such words as 'adoption,' 'conversion,' and 'redemption,' which ring loudly within the portals of all churches and call just as loudly in our courts of justice. Adoption according to Scripture is the act by which the justified are received into the number of the Sons of God and have a right to all the privileges flowing from such kinship. It is noteworthy how adoption as a binding legal relationship has secured recognition in English law. Prior to the Adoption Act, 1925, adoption was a purely extra-legal status without any force in law. Since the Adoption Act was passed, an adopted child is give to his natura boast book, has lo

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is given by law practically the full status of a child born in wedlock to his adopters. The adopted child cannot be thrown back to its natural parents; it is not a relationship at will. Theologians may well boast that here the law has taken more than a leaf out of their book, and that the adopted child is now given in secular life what has long been his privilege in the spiritual sphere.

Then there is the word 'conversion' with all its sacred and hallowed associations. Here it must be admitted that the lawyers have put it to somewhat base uses. On the one hand 'conversion' means something like misappropriation of property and the term 'fraudulent conversion' has a very ugly meaning. On the other hand, the Chancery lawyers have given to 'conversion' the highly technical meaning that in certain circumstances land is not the trees and hills and good earth that it sems to be, but has been 'converted' into money, or that by a reverse process, the money in the hands of a settlor or testator is not golden sovereigns or securities, but by the magic pen of the conveyancer has been 'converted' into lands, tenements and hereditaments and must now so be treated in law. Obviously the theologian cannot draw much comfort out of this and can only regret the debasement that has followed the withdrawal of ecclesiastics from judicial office.

Lastly there is the term 'redemption' which now occupies as honourable position in law as it does in the writings of the Apostles: but here again there has been considerable deviation from the meaning of the term in Holy Writ. The term 'redemption' in law does not refer to saving souls but to saving land and goods. The case of the mortgagor threatened with foreclosure has already been mentioned—the Courts of Equity have always recognized the human element in mortgages and debts, and leaned against the extortionate creditor. Hence the mortgagor has been armed with that right which is known as his 'equity of redemption.' Even after the time stipulated in the mortgage deed for the repayment of the debt has passed the borrower is allowed a certain period to redeem his land and regain possession of his acres. 'Have patience with me and I will pay thee all,' is a term honoured in law, and any stipulation in a mortgage deed by which the mortgagor barters away his 'equity of redemption' is null and void. Even the humble borrower who pledges his household gooods to the pawnbroker has his right to 'redeem' protected by law. The term 'sale of unredeemed pledges'

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ns of kinationption t any child used to be a common advertisement appearing in the newspapers. Those of us who have never been obliged to enter the gloomy portals adorned by the escutcheon of the Three Golden Balls may not have paid much attention to such notices, but it is well to remember that even after the sale of the unredeemed pledge the title of the borrower to an account and the payment over of the difference due is not extinguished for a considerable period. The right of redemption dies hard, and who shall say that this quality of mercy imported into our statute law is not influenced by all the implications with which the term 'redemption' has acquired from the Scriptures? The debtor is a sinner against society but he is not outside the gates of mercy provided he shows himself contrite and does his best to make amends.

It has been hinted at the beginning of this article that the status of the marital relationship has been the most fertile ground for differences between the church and the law. Here the two camps have registered a complete divergence and any hope of reconciliation is vain. The law has refused to be bound by the church. But before marital relationship can arise there must be a marriage. What constitutes a valid ceremony of marriage? Although marriage and giving in marriage are mentioned frequently in the New Testament there is no account in it of the actual celebration of a marriage, though the marriage feast which presumably followed a marriage was the occasion of the first miracle. On this question of what constitutes a valid ceremony of marriage according to the law of England there was a long-drawn-out conflict between the law and the Church, and it was a struggle in which the Church eventually succeeded in establishing its contention. That the subject is not a dead one is evidenced by a recent decision of the Court of Appeal which will be referred to in due course. To understand such a decision it is necessary to say a word about the legal history leading up to it. This is locked up in the case of The Queen v. Millis, decided by the House of Lords in 1844—more than a hundred years ago—and still cited as good law. The report of the case of Millis occupies several hundred pages in the ponderous reports of Clark and Finelly (10 C. & F. 534), and is not without its instructive and even amusing features.

At the spring assizes for the County of Antrim holden in 1842, one George Millis was indicted and found guilty of bigamy. From the facts found by the jury it appears that George and a single

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woman had contracted a marriage, and the ceremony was performed by a nonconformist (Presbyterian) minister at his manse in the year 1829. George was not a Presbyterian. The parties cohabited as man and wife for some years, then parted, and George in the life of his wife purported to contract a marriage with another woman. In this case the marriage was celebrated in England by a Church of England priest. The defence of George to the indictment for bigamy was that the first marriage was invalid. It was not performed by an ordained clergyman and could not hold good against the later one which was performed by a priest. The trial raised an issue of such importance that the indictment and conviction were referred to the High Court of Ireland, who fulfilled the function now delegated to the Court of Criminal Appeal. That court in turn felt that the matter should be referred to the House of Lords and one of the four judges withdrew. By a finding of two to one George was acquitted and the Crown then proceeded by Writ of Error to take the issue to the House of Lords. It was a weighty court that heard the case, including Brougham, Denman, Campbell, Cottenham, and Abinger. The arguments on each side, though they occupied hundreds of pages in the reports, may be summarized much more briefly. For the Crown it was argued that no statute either authorized or forbade such a marriage by a nonconformist clergyman, so the issue turned on the question whether the marriage was valid by English common law. Since Roman times marriage had always been regarded as a civil contract, and when Christianity became the religion of the Empire this position was not disturbed. If the parties being of full age and of free consent contracted a marriage per verba de præsenti it was valid against the world, and the blessing of a priest was not necessary. Until the Council of Trent in 1563 proclaimed marriage to be a sacrament, the presence of an ordained priest at the ceremony was not required. The decrees of the Council of Trent were made after the Reformation and were never binding on the English Church. Though the practice of having a marriage celebrated by a priest had grown up by custom in England, such celebration was not necessary, and a properly witnessed verbal contract between the parties was all that the common law required. This was amply proved in the case of Millis, so his first marriage was valid and he was guilty of bigamy when he purported to contract another. 22

The contrary argument which admittedly represented the view of the Church of England was, of course, that the first marriage was a nullity. Though the Church of England after the secession of Henry VIII was not legally bound to the decree of the Council of Trent, it had adopted this decree, and to be valid all marriages must be celebrated by an ordained priest. As confirmation of this it was pointed out that after the Restoration a special Act of Parliament had been passed confirming those marriages which had been contracted during the Commonwealth before a Justice of the Peace without the presence of an episcopally ordained minister. Even in the life of Queen Anne there had been decisions of the courts affecting administration and settlements which held that marriages purported to be celebrated without the rites of the Church of England were not valid in law. All these arguments might be repeated ad nauseam, as indeed they appear to have been done. To cut a long story short the Law Lords were evenly divided on the problem, which meant that on the legal principle of omnia præsumuntur pro negante the conviction of Millis was quashed.

It might seem that the history of the case of Millis as stated above left the law of marriage in a very unsatisfactory state, and yet the case is still the authority for what constitutes a valid common law marriage in the English law. It has again and again been cited in the courts. In the recent case of Taczanowska v. Taczanowski, (1957) 2 All E.R. 563, which went to the Court of Appeal, the issue turned on whether two persons of Polish nationality who had been married by a Polish Roman Catholic chaplain in Italy during the war had contracted a valid marriage. In the particular circumstances the terms of the marriage were not governed by any Statute such as the Foreign Marriages Act, 1892, the Allied Forces Act, 1940, or the Polish Resettlement Act, 1947. The parties were therefore outside statute law, but in the opinion of the court they had been married by an episcopally ordained priest; in accordance with the decision in the Millis case—the marriage was therefore valid by English common law and our courts were entitled to take cognizance of it. It had already been held in an earlier case that a Roman Catholic priest, being episcopally ordained, fulfilled the requirement demanded of the common law. The terms of this requirement still hold good, though in the case of marriages abroad and in the Colonies where the services of a priest have not been

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available certain modifications have been allowed by the courts. But the mere fact that the Millis case is still used as a touchstone is testimony to the fact that in the performance of a marriage under the common law the Church is still vested with very important powers in relation to the contract and ceremony of marriage and has the whip hand of the State.

Here the history of the relationship between the English common law and the dominance of the Christian religion throughout it may be left. It may be objected that a good deal of the same influences are to be traced through the law of all European countries, which is perfectly true, just as Christianity has played an important part in moulding the social life and government of all countries which, with the spread of the Roman Empire and the conversion of the emperors to the new religion, were bound to adopt the modifying influence of the New Testament teaching. But English common law stands on a pedestal by itself and those who framed it struck out new lines which in many cases freed it from the rigidity of the Roman jurisprudence. The ecclesiastical historian and jurist Richard Hooker must have had this aspect of our law in mind when he wrote: 'Of law there can be no less acknowledgment than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in Heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power.'

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## SAMUEL WILBERFORCE v. T. H. HUXLEY: A RETROSPECT

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NEARLY a hundred years have gone since there appeared in the Quarterly Review for July 1860 (pp. 225-264) a review by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, of Charles Darwin's recent book On the Origin of Species, by means of Natural Selection; or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. The review in effect reproduced Wilberforce's side of his debate on Darwinism with T. H. Huxley, which had taken place on June 30 during the meeting at Oxford of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The occasion of the debate was a discussion over a paper by Professor Draper, M.D., of New York, entitled On the Intellectual Development of Europe, considered with reference to the views of Mr Darwin and others, that the Progression of Organisms is determined by Law. The encounter between Wilberforce and Huxley aroused peculiar attention at the time, not only because of the character of the disputants, the astute ecclesiastic matched with the pugnacious scientist, but even more because it seemed to be an epitome and symbol of a conflict between religion and science. Not that everyone thought such a conflict inevitable. Lord Wrottesley, at the conclusion of his Presidential Address to the Association, asked whether the classical writers of antiquity, had they been given a sudden revelation of all the wonders of Creation accessible to man, would not have delighted to celebrate the marvels of the Creator's power (Report of the Thirtieth Meeting of the British Association, p. lxxiv sq.). But the appeal for concord betrayed the absence of it.

The possibility of a conflict of religion and natural science had been opened by Galileo in 1615, when he wrote to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany that in the discussion of natural problems we ought to begin not with the authority of places of Scripture but with experience and demonstration. What experience sets before our eyes or demonstrations prove to us ought not, he urged, to be

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called in question, much less condemned, upon the testimony of texts of Scripture apparently conflicting with it; God discloses himself no less admirably in the actions of Nature than in the sacred words of Scripture. Yet though Galileo's adoption of Copernican astronomy brought him into grave peril, discrepancies between passages of the Bible and the teachings of natural scientists were of no great moment to religious people till about the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was feared or hoped that educated men were about to find themselves in a world from which religion had been expelled by the advance of the natural sciences, and when agnostics still believed enough in God to want Him to know of their lack of belief.

The simmering conflict was brought to the boil by Darwin's book On the Origin of Species, for its teaching was plainly counter to the Bible and to the idea of Providential design in nature. According to the Bible, if interpreted literally and not in the symbolical manner of Church Fathers, God created the universe only a few thousand years ago, taking six days over the work before resting on the seventh, and creating separately plants, animals, and finally man, whom He created in his own likeness. According to Darwin, on the other hand, all the various forms of vegetable and animal life have come down automatically by natural succession of descent over millions of years, animals descending from four or five progenitors at most, and plants from the same or a lower number, if indeed both animals and plants are not descended from some primordial form; even man has no privileged origin.

The idea of evolution of species was not itself new. Already in the previous century men had begun seriously to challenge the accepted view that the species of animals, with fixed sets of bodily characteristics and of habits, remained constant and unaltered, while only the individual specimens came and went. Ferdinando Galiani, for instance, in a letter of 1776 wrote that his researches into the habits of cats had led him to suspect that their behaviour and knowledge was the work of forty to fifty thousand years, the alteration undergone by them in the few centuries of natural history being imperceptible. If we turn to Edinburgh society, we find Dr Alexander Carlyle informing Lady Frances Scott of a forthcoming book by Lord Monboddo, in which the author set out to prove that man originally walked on all fours, like other animals, and

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had a tail like most of them; that it was probably five thousand years before men learned to walk erect, and five thousand more before they learned the use of speech. Philosophers again like Herder and Hegel had elaborated the conception of a ladder of forms of life, in which each step is a fuller unfolding of the stage beneath, man being the complete realization of what is potentially inherent in the lowest form. Yet schemes of an actual evolution in nature remained highly fanciful. Hegel, though a doughty exponent of development in human history, insisted that in nature there was only a logical transition from lower to higher forms, and condemned as unfit for philosophical consideration nebulous ideas of the birth of plants and animals from water, and of more highly developed animals from the lower (Enc. § 249). Darwin and Huxley, too, found the pre-Darwinian evolutionists unscientific and unconvincing (Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, II, pp. 39, 188).

The novelty of Darwin's thought, which for the first time lent impressiveness to the notion of a temporal evolution of species, was his suggestion as to the manner in which changes of species might have occurred. For proof that evolution had actually taken place, having no direct proof that a single species had changed, he relied on evidence of kinds already known, such as the characterization of successive geological strata by different kinds of fossil remains, facts of geographical distribution, affinities of internal structure between different species, the existence of rudimentary or atrophied organs, the general difference in structure between embryo and adult, and resemblances between embryos of distinct species (Life, II, pp. 78, 362, III, p. 25). Darwin's suggestion of the manner of change was derived from long-continued study of, and converse with, agriculturists and horticulturists (Life, II, p. 79). As he explained in letters expounding the main doctrines of the Origin of Species, he noticed how breeders modified species and produced new varieties by picking out individuals with any desired quality, breeding from them, and again picking, so that by the accumulation even of very slight variations breeders might be said to make the wool of one sheep good for carpets, another good for cloth, and so on. It occurred to him that a species was only a strongly marked variety, and that changes much greater than those produced by breeders might be brought about over millions of generations by a power which should be called natural selection picking for the good of the Ever if the the prival maniwith semibe b econgatin accuform parean ac-

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of sp as u Mod is a Evol achie ing, them origi differ woul species, selecting the individuals fittest to survive and propagate. Every kind of animal, he pointed out, breeds at such a rate that if the increase were unchecked, the earth's surface would not hold the progeny of any one species. Life is therefore a struggle for sunvival. Now the individuals of any species vary, and considering the manifold ways in which beings have to obtain food by contending with each other, to escape danger, to have their eggs or seeds disseminated, it cannot be doubted that individuals of a species will be born with some slight variation profitable to some part of its economy. These will have a better chance of surviving and propagating this variation, which again will be slowly increased by the accumulative action of natural selection; and the variety thus formed will either coexist with or, more commonly, exterminate its parent form. As no modification can be selected without its being an advantage or improvement, every step in the natural selection of each species implies improvement in that species in relation to its conditions of life, and thus the general consequence of natural selection is natural improvement. Yet the process of evolution is not a necessary process (as the earlier evolutionists wrongly supposed). It depends not only on the chance appearance of the variation but also on the variation's happening to be suited to the environment. Accordingly the fact that the high state of the intellectual development of the Ancient Greeks has been followed by little or no improvement admits of the easy explanation that in a state of anarchy or despotism or after an irruption of barbarians, strength or ferocity rather than intellect would be apt to gain the day (Life, II, pp. 78 sq., 122-25, 177, 295).

Modification is here the decisive thought. Darwin regarded change of species by descent as the turning-point, and even natural selection as unimportant in comparison with the question of 'Creation or Modification' (Life, II, p. 371). Now the modification of something is a change affecting only its unstable surface and not what it is. Evolution by modification is thus a conception modelled on the achievement of the breeder, who works on existing qualities, making, for example, sheep woollier or longer-legged without making them come to be sheep or cease to be sheep. Hence man's animal origin as conceived by Darwin implies that man is not substantially different from the animal, for the introduction of any new quality would be the production of something out of nothing, i.e. creation.

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Darwin was quite clear on this. In reply to Lyell, who asked whether Darwin must not assume a primeval creative power not acting with uniformity to account for the supervention of man, he claimed that the lower animals had the very same attributes as man, though in a much lower stage of perfection than the lowest savage. He would give nothing for the theory of natural selection if it required miraculous additions of new powers and attributes at any one stage of descent. Granted a simple archetypal creature, like the mudfish or lepidosiren, with the five senses and some vestige of mind, he believed that natural selection would account for the production of every vertebrate animal (Life, II, pp. 174, 211).

No wonder, then, that Darwinism was regarded as crucial in the conflict of natural science and religion. The audience who assembled on the morning of Saturday, June 30, to hear the discussion on Dr Draper's paper, expecting a lively display of oratory from the Bishop of Oxford, who was known to be out to smash Darwinism, numbered over seven hundred and had to be accommodated in the Museum Library instead of the lecture-room originally provided. After Dr Draper had droned out his paper for an hour or more, there were various speeches, but the Bishop and Huxley played the chief parts. (The evidence of the discussion is contained in the Athenæum of July 14, 1860, and in the Lives of Wilberforce, Darwin, and Huxley. As mentioned before, Wilberforce's arguments were set out in his article in the July issue of the Quarterly Review.)

Wilberforce, who had been briefed by Professor Owen, an eminent zoologist, made the following main points:

(1) The *Origin of Species* was a most readable book, full of facts in natural history, but its thesis of a transmutation of species was the merest hypothesis, not warranted by the facts or supported by any known instance of a change of species.

(2) Darwin had established that there was a struggle for survival, by which the strong individuals and species exterminated the weak individuals and species, but for evidence that this law of competition not only prevented the deterioration of natural types but secured an improvement in them, by selecting individuals whose favourable variation exalted them not to the highest possible excellence within the species but to some excellence above it, and that such favourable variations could be accumulated through successive descent, he could only adduce the varieties produced by the breeder

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of domestic animals. The breeder, however, aimed at introducing variations for his advantage, not the animal's, and owing to the law of correlation man could develop one part of the animal only by the sacrifice of another—the bulldog gained in strength and lost in swiftness, while the greyhound gained in swiftness but lost in strength. Such variations never improved the typical character of the animal as an animal, and their monstrous nature was shown by the tendency to revert with any relaxation of the breeder's care. Nor, after four thousand years of breeding pigeons, which Darwin cited as showing varieties produced under the selecting hand of man, had there been any change in the characteristics of the skeleton or other parts of the frame on which specific differences were founded.

(3) The evidence failed to supply the transitional links postulated by the theory of the accumulation of slight differences, and to be continually asserting the mere conceivability of such links, and to blame the incompleteness of the geological record or to suggest the complete obliteration of the missing species by their successors, was to support a hypothesis on the most unbounded assumptions.

(4) Discrepancies between Revelation and the discoveries of the natural sciences might have to be accepted for a time. To oppose facts in the natural world because they seemed to oppose Revelation was to lie for God. It was also wrong to bustle forth to reconcile such discoveries with Revelation, for it continually happened that with some larger collection of facts or some wider view of the phenomena, the discovery proved to have been a mistake. Nevertheless it was important to point out on scientific grounds scientific errors, when those errors conflicted with Revelation. Darwin's application of his scheme of natural selection to man, his degrading notion of the brute origin of man, was irreconcilable with man's free-will and responsibility, man's fall and man's redemption, the incarnation of the Eternal Son, and the indwelling of the Eternal Spirit. Moreover, the theory diffused throughout creation the working and therefore the personality of the Creator, which tended to banish from the mind most of the peculiar attributes of the Creator.

(5) The true explanation of the systematic relation between species, shown by grouping, affinities and the fact that man as an embryo passed through phases similar to those in which the lower

animals remained, was that all creation was the transcript in matter of ideas existing eternally in the mind of God.

In the course of his speech, after treating of the absence of fundamental change in pigeons, Wilberforce ventured a quip at the expense of Huxley, who had stood forth two days before as the champion of man's kinship with the ape. Denying a fortiori the descent of man from the ape, Wilberforce appealed to Victorian gallantry by asking whether, if anyone were willing to trace his descent through an ape as his grandfather, he would be willing to trace his descent similarly on the side of his grandmother. The ladies in the audience repaid Wilberforce by waving their handkerchiefs at the end of his speech, which was received with acclamation.

Huxley took the Bishop's banter as a piece of insolence, and prepared the severest retort that he could devise. First, however, he dealt with the arguments. His main points, apart from oppugning the Bishop's competence in the field of science, were as follows:

(1) As to Darwin's theory being a hypothesis and not directly proved, the theory was an explanation of phenomena in natural history, just as the undulation theory was an explanation of the phenomena of light, to which nobody had objected because a wave of light had never been arrested and measured.

(2) Darwin's book was full of relevant facts, and his theory was the best explanation yet offered of the origin of species, bringing a chaotic mass of facts into order, even though it might not have been confirmed in every part

confirmed in every part.

(3) The question was not so much one of a transmutation of species as of the production of forms which became permanent. Thus the short-legged sheep of America were not produced gradually, but originated in the birth of an original parent of the whole stock, which had been kept up by a rigid system of artificial selection.

(4) The psychological boundary between the animals and man was crossed by the individual man in his development from a mere atom, without its being possible to say at what stage he became consciously intelligent.

(5) It was not open to the Bishop to maintain that evolution drove out the Creator, when he asserted that God had made him, and yet knew that he himself had originally been a tiny piece of matter.

In conclusion Huxley declared that the suggestion of man's des-

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cent from the ape was one of descent through thousands of generations, but if the question were treated not as a matter for the calm investigation of science but as a matter of sentiment, and he were asked whether he would choose to be descended from the poor animal of low intelligence and stooping gait, who grinned and chattered at the passer-by, or from a man, endowed with great ability and a splendid position, who would use those gifts to discredit and crush humble seekers after truth, he would hesitate what answer to make.

The excitement was intense, and when Huxley sat down, the cheering was not very much less than that given to the Bishop. One lady went to the length of swooning, and had to be carried out. The very next day, by a sort of poetic justice, Huxley was actually mistaken for a son of the Bishop. Yet Wilberforce bore him no malice, as he found afterwards, for although Wilberforce had long ago earned the nickname of *Soapy Sam*, he was always a spirited character, apart from being accustomed to the rough-and-tumble of public disputation.

Darwin, who had been too unwell to go to Oxford, wrote to Huxley that he had heard that Huxley had 'answered the B. of O. capitally,' confessing engagingly that he himself would as soon as died as tried to answer the Bishop before such an assembly. Yet when Darwin read the Bishop's article in the Quarterly Review, though finding it full of errors, he pronounced it not only amusing but also 'uncommonly clever; it picks out with skill all the most conjectural parts, and brings forward well all the difficulties' (Life, II, pp. 324, 331). Darwin admitted on other occasions that the change of species had not been proved in a single case, and that the doctrine had to be grounded on general considerations; it must sink or swim according as it grouped and explained phenomena (Life, II, p. 362; III, p. 25). The doctrine of evolution has certainly held its ground as the neatest explanation of the facts of classification, affinities, embryology, geographical distribution, etc., though these facts were so well known (in kind, if not in volume) that in writing to biologists like Asa Gray to win them over, Darwin simply named these facts without giving any details, and indeed they were accepted by the creationist biologists, who saw in them, as Wilberforce did, evidence of divine design. Since Darwin's day the main field in which such circumstantial evidence of evolution has accumulated,

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General considerations of this kind, however, support only the general theory of evolution, and do not wipe out Wilberforce's objections to the special theory of evolution by the accumulation of random variations left in the field owing to the elimination of the rest. Wilberforce's points about individual variations not exceeding the limits of the species and of the absence of evidence of all the intermediate links postulated were in effect endorsed by the Dutch botanist Hugo de Vries. According to De Vries, who used statistical information about the phenomena of individual variations, these fluctuating individual variations occur within narrow bounds and do not overstep the type of the species. Years of experiment and horticultural observation convinced him that the actual transition from species to species takes place not through variation, i.e. gradual and isolated changes, but by mutation, i.e. a large-scale leap. Again Wilberforce's criticism that Darwin failed to prove that the struggle for survival secured improvement was not only conceded by Darwin, who admitted that he could not prove that the supposed changes were beneficial, which was the groundwork of his theory (Life, III, p. 25), but was corroborated by Eimer and his school. They argued that the struggle merely decimates the abundance of possible types, thus impeding rather than promoting the rise of new species, and that the adaptation which this struggle brings about has nothing to do with improvement, for the organisms which are physiologically and morphologically higher are not always better adapted to their environment than those lower in the scale. On the teaching of this school evolution takes place by orthogenesis, i.e. the settled tendency of an organism to advance in a few directions, without any relation to advantage in the struggle for existence. The schools of Darwin, De Vries, and Eimer survive to this day, none having succeeded in entirely ousting its competitors, and the most reasonable view seems to be that the importance of random variations, directed variations, and large-scale discontinuities varies among different species of plants and animals. Darwin's estimate of the Bishop's article thus appears more judicious than that of Huxley, who, when contributing for Darwin's Life a historical account of the reception of the Origin of Species, dyspeptically dismissed the article as an 'outpouring of preposterous incapa logicu

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SAMUEL WILBERFORCE v. T. H. HUXLEY: A RETROSPECT 435

incapacity' flavoured 'with a little stimulation of the odium theologicum' (II, p. 183).

The most awkward of the Bishop's criticisms, however, was that of the incompatibility of human free-will and responsibility with man's origin from the brutes by means of natural selection. Huxley's parallel of the growth of the individual man from the embryo is not quite adequate, for it is open to question whether that growth itself does not involve creation. In the Middle Ages Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, conceived it as a succession of discrete moments, creative and destructive of the single forms, whereas Johannes Duns Scotus, the Subtle Doctor, conceived it as a succession of products of the same form, a succession in which the imperfect products appear before the perfect (G. de Ruggiero, La filosofia del Cristianesimo, III, p. 197). As far as concerns the origin of the human species, the question is whether the result of mere modification of animal qualities and powers under the action of natural selection would be compatible with facts of human history. The answer was unwittingly provided by Huxley himself in the conclusion of his speech. From the Darwinian standpoint the Bishop's gifts of oratory, which Huxley meant to censure him for using to crush a humble seeker after truth, constitute a favourable variation, favourable in relation to the audience, which will be used by the Bishop to overwhelm an opponent without such gifts. Huxley's censure, however, presupposed that Wilberforce had the duty and the power to refrain deliberately from exploiting his favourable variation. This presupposition is fatal to Darwinism, not only in its application to the course of human history, as authorized by Darwin and essayed in the very paper which occasioned the debate, but also in its ascription to man of a natural descent from animals. For the law that all animals assert themselves and use their advantages in the struggle for existence cannot possibly account for the emergence of some animals capable of restraining themselves and intentionally not exploiting their advantages.

Huxley did not notice the absurdity of his position at the time, but in later years the embarrassment was brought home to him by attempts to found morality on the doctrine of evolution, i.e. on the survival of the fittest. These attempts were unacceptable to him, because he recognized that the fittest which survives in the struggle for existence may be, and often is, the morally worst (Life and

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Letters of T. H. Huxley, II, p. 303). Human goodness or virtue, he declared in his Ethics and Evolution, requires self-restraint instead of ruthless self-assertion, respecting and helping one's fellows instead of trampling on them or thrusting them aside. Moral progress thus depends not on imitating the cosmic process but in combating it. But if 'man, physical, intellectual, and moral, is as much a part of nature, as purely the product of the cosmic process, as the humblest weed,' how can he combat the cosmic process? How can 'ethical nature, while born of cosmic nature,' be 'necessarily at enmity with its parent'? Huxley's reply is that if the conclusion that the two are antagonistic is logically absurd, he is sorry for logic, because the fact is so. This contempt for logic comes strangely from one so ready to appeal from sentiment and religious prejudice to 'the high court of reason.' The opposition between man and nature is certainly there, but it is logically absurd, i.e. self-contradictory, only on the supposition that man is purely a part of nature, that men have descended from animals without the creative insertion of new powers and qualities—Huxley divided creation and evolution as with a hatchet, and scoffed at the notion of a continuously operative creational law (Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, II, p. 195). Now a supposition is knocked out by denying its consequent. If men are simply descended from animals which have not the power of self-restraint, then men cannot exercise self-restraint. Since, however, as Huxley admitted, some men do exercise selfrestraint and obey the moral law, the supposition that man is purely a part of nature must be untrue.

The importance to-day of the encounter between Wilberforce and Huxley does not lie in its symbolizing a conflict between religion and natural science, for this conflict subsided with the growing realization that both scientific and religious thinking are subject to historical development, in which the old is superseded (i.e. at once fulfilled and set aside) by the new, so that neither natural science nor religion possess truths not open to revision. The idea of the development of religious truth was quite repugnant to Wilberforce. A book called *Essays and Reviews* attempting to expound and apply this idea had appeared in March, 1860, and in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1861 he criticized it vehemently as containing speculations perhaps well-suited to the metaphysical mind of Germany, but tending to infidelity, if not to atheism. It must be empha-

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sized, however, that Huxley was of the Bishop's mind here, for he could not make out how S. R. Driver could give up the physical truth of the Pentateuchal cosmogony and yet hold on to it as embodying theological truth (*Life*, II, p. 118). It was thus common ground between Wilberforce and Huxley that the acceptance of Darwinism detracted from the religious authority of the Bible.

Yet the encounter is still of importance to-day. Its importance for us lies in Huxley's being provoked into objecting to a human being's behaving as though he belonged purely to nature, when on Huxley's professed theory that was just what he did. For attempts are still being made, under the title of psychology, to reduce history to a natural science, and ascribe human actions not to their agents but to circumstances—the truth that a man acts in view of his circumstances being replaced by the falsehood that he acts because of his circumstances; or else to motives and impulses, these being treated not as the agent's dispositions to act but as separate from him and acting on him like weights on a balance. Thus whereas the historian, in asking why somebody did something, is asking what the man was driving at that he did it, the psychologist expects by that question to find some circumstance or impulse, or ensemble of circumstances and impulses, that drove the man to do it. When, however, the young are taught to believe themselves just animals and at the mercy of impulses and circumstances, it is too late to lament their increasing proclivity to lose their self-control and actually behave like animals. The psychologist may retort that he is a seeker after truth, and that his denial of human free-will is not refuted by showing that it makes nonsense of historiography or has embarrassing results in the field of morals. His denial does, however, admit of the experimental method of refutation suggested by Duns Scotus. Take your psychologist, torture him, and he will recognize tolerably soon that you can very well help torturing him.

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THE question of South Tyrol has again come before the public in a very urgent form. President Gronchi has just been paying an official visit to the Queen at Buckingham Palace and on May 15 held a Press Conference at the Italian Embassy. Among the questions put by journalists was one relating to South Tyrol. He was asked about the situation there at the present time. President Gronchi replied that when the excitement which had arisen with regard to the coming Parliamentary elections had passed away, it was probable that the Italian Government would come to an open and fruitful exchange of views with the Austrian Government on the problem of South Tyrol. The Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Professor Dr Franz Gschnitzer, had an interview with the representative of a German weekly newspaper, Der Rheinische Merkur. This interview has been reproduced in the Dolomiten, published at Bozen in German, on May 31 of this year. The first question put to Dr Gschnitzer was: Way had the South Tyrolese question come into the limelight with such suddenness, and the Secretary of State replied that the Treaty so recently signed between Austria and the Powers had at last given her full independence and enabled her for the first time to discuss the treatment by Italy of South Tyrol. A latent question had thus come into new prominence. Up to this time the chains of a non-Sovereign state had been laid upon Austria. He pointed out, however, that very determined and well grounded representations had been made much earlier by the South Tyrolese themselves.

The Italian General Election took place on May 25 and during the whole campaign the speeches of the Tyrolese candidates were almost exclusively devoted to the grievances which they have clearly set forth regarding the treatment which they are receiving at the present time.

The origin of these difficulties goes back to the Treaty of St Germain, made between the Austrian Government and the Allies. The Peace Conference met in Paris early in January 1919. Of all the Allied Powers Italy was the only one which, as a condition of

torial gain for herself. She bargained tenaciously about the spoils of victory ere she committed herself to come to the aid of the Allies. For months her statesmen negotiated with both sides on the basis of territorial concessions. The Allies were in a position to offer olic in better terms and the Italian Government decided to throw in its ng an lot with them. When war broke out Italy was a member of a Triple lay 15 Alliance with Germany and Austria. One of its conditions exonqueserated her from any obligation to make war on Britain. When, e was therefore, Great Britain declared war against Germany in 1914, sident Italy felt that under the terms of the Pact she was free to maintain n with an attitude of neutrality. As the war progressed certain elements way, it in the country were anxious to throw in their lot with the Allies. n open and they made a strong appeal to popular feeling on the ground ent on that this conflict provided a supreme opportunity for recovering ate for the Italian areas which Austria still retained, and which were erview consecrated in the public sentiment by the name of 'Italia r. Der Irredenta.' Italy entered the war against Austro-Hungary in 1915, in the officially in order to recover the 'still unredeemed' territories of s year. Trento and Trieste which were inhabited by Italians. Italian Irre-South dentist propaganda had for some time not been confined to the enness, claim to these territories. In the second half of the nineteenth signed century there emerged with growing frequency the claim to the l inde-Brenner boundary as 'the natural frontier' with Italy. This was the atment theory of the watershed. In fact, the Italians in the secret Treaty of London of 1915 obtained the promise of the whole of German South Tyrol from Salurn to the Brenner. This was a country which they had never even ventured to demand from Austria in their negotiations with her. At the Peace Conference the American experts had recommended that Italy should be given the whole of the Trentino, which was the only part of the country to which she had any just claim on linguistic, cultural, or historical grounds. Mr Wilson's private secretary, Ray Stannard Baker, tells us that Presieceiving dent Wilson had unfortunately promised the Brenner Pass boundary to Orlando—one of 'the big Four'—which gave to Italy some 225,000 Tyrolese Germans, an action which he subsequently re-

garded as a great mistake and deeply regretted. Lord Bryce tells us

that 'Italy had, of course, no historical title whatever to the purely

Germanic region which she desired to acquire. However, the prin-

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ciple of nationality was, in this case, thrown overboard by the Allied Powers and a quarter of a million of German Tyrolese, countrymen of the national hero, Andreas Hofer, who had led their forefathers in a gallant resistance when Napoleon transferred them to Bavaria in 1809, were handed over to Italy as if they had been so many cattle.' England and France defended their action in agreeing to this breach of principle by pleading a secret Treaty in which they had promised this territory to Italy in 1915 when they were endeavouring to induce her to enter the war on their side. Earl Lloyd George wrote in his book called The Truth about the Peace Treaties that Mr Asquith, when challenged on the subject of the secret Treaty of London, defended his action on the ground that the French and ourselves were fighting for our lives on the Western Front. Sir Edward Grey's defence of the Treaty was characteristically simple and direct. He said: 'In war you will have secret treaties. Many things regarded as criminal are regarded as inevitable in time of war.' Certainly the Treaty of London could not be brought into agreement with President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points,' especially with Point 9, which said that 'A readjustment of the frontier with Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.' This meant 'Italia Irredenta,' neither less nor more. It cannot be denied that the geographical extension of territory, especially that of South Tyrol, promised to Italy in the Treaty of London, was in distinct contravention of the principles laid down by the Allied Governments as a justification to their own people for calling upon them to face the horrors of a colossal war. Lord Percy of Newcastle in his Some Memories, just published, gives a striking example of the impression made upon leading Americans when they learnt for the first time of this secret Treaty of London. Senator Norris of Nebraska said in a speech:

When I discovered that these same men who had talked so eloquently here to us... pulled out secret treaties at the Peace table, in contradiction to every agreement that they made when they entered the Peace Conference; when I saw that they were demanding that these secret treaties be legalized; and, more than all, when I saw our own President lie down and give in and submit to the disgrace, the dishonour, the crime and the sin of that Treaty, then I said: 'Great God! I don't want to have any dealings with any of you people. I am suspicious of you all the way through. You are dishonest. You have not been fair with us or with the world.

Lloyd George said:

It must be admitted that the hacking of essentially Tyrolese villages and valleys from the rest of Austria was incompatible with the principles of self-determination embodied in the original war aims of Allied statesmanship.

Lloyd George added:

When the time came to carry out the bargain, some of the terms almost caused a rupture among the victors.

It is true that in 1919 and in 1920 the King, Government, and Parliament of Italy solemnly promised the Germans of South Tyrol complete autonomy. There was, however, a school in Italy which considered the South Tyrolese to be Germanized Romans who must now be 're-Italianized.' As early as 1921 the High Commissioner for the new Province, Credaro, explained that the promises given to the South Tyrolese after the war had only historical value, and the Fascist seizure of power in October 1922 removed all doubt about the matter. Benito Mussolini, in his speech in Parliament of Feb. 6, 1926, said: 'We shall make this territory Italian. The Germans do not compose a national minority but only an ethnical relic.'

In March 1928 Mussolini declared again that the pledges of previous Governments to maintain the Germans in South Tyrol on a specific basis of freedom were not binding upon him, and that the democratic nonsense of any such Governments had been done away by him and annulled for ever. In 1926 when the Provinces of Trentino and Bozen were formed, the German Bozen lowlands with almost 20,000 inhabitants were allotted to the Province of Trentino to facilitate de-nationalization. Heavy industries were now transferred to Bozen. It was thought that a wholesale immigration of Italian workers would accelerate the Italianization of the country. These Italian firms had to be subsidized by the State with exemption from taxes and transport facilities. It was forbidden to employ South Tyrolese workers in the new industries. The Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law, wrote in his diary on April 3, 1938:

It will be well to make the Germans see the need of re-absorbing their people (the South Tyrolese), since South Tyrol is geographically

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Italian soil, and as mountains and rivers cannot be removed, the people must be moved.

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After a year's resistance Berlin agreed, and on June 23, 1939, Hitler abandoned the South Tyrolese to their fate. These people were confronted by a barrage of Italian threats. The solution was to be either emigration to Germany or re-settlement in Italian districts south of the Po. I spoke myself to a farmer in Brixen and he said:

They forced me to sell my farm and they gave me these bonds in exchange. When I went to Bozen to cash them they said: 'Oh, no; not here. These bonds can only be cashed in Abyssinia. You must emigrate there in order to be able to cash them,' and he explained to me that this was the only compensation which he had received for the farm which his ancestors had occupied for hundreds of years.

The resettlement was stopped by the collapse of Fascist Italy in July 1943. Two months later Italy declared war on Germany. South Tyrol and the Provinces of Trent and Belluno were occupied by the Germans, who were already in Rome, whither they had been summoned by Italy as her Allies. A German civil administration was set up and the use of the German language in South Tyrol was restored, but with the débacle in May 1945 the German occupation came to an end. South Tyrol was then occupied by Anglo-American forces until December 31, 1945. The Allies provided for the continuation of the German schools which had been suppressed by the Fascists. The Italian 'partisan' divisions which had terrorized the population of South Tyrol in the summer of 1945 were withdrawn at the command of the Allies.

In May 1945 the South Tyrolese People's Party came into existence with the object of securing the right of self-determination for South Tyrol. 156,628 signatures were collected in favour of the return to Austria. The clergy of South Tyrol, under the leadership of the Bishop of Brixen, made a declaration in this sense, but while the South Tyrolese were struggling for the application to their country of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, Italy concentrated her whole strength on the retention of South Tyrol.

The question came before the Foreign Ministers of the Allied Powers who had decided to refuse to return South Tyrol to Austria. I asked Mr Bevin, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on May 22, 1946:

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Allied Austria. on May Whether he is now in a position to make a statement on the refusal of the Council of Foreign Ministers to restore South Tyrol to Austria of which she was deprived in 1919.

# Mr Bevin replied:

At their meeting last September the Foreign Secretaries decided that 'the frontier with Austria will not be changed, subject to decisions to be reached by the Council, in any case which Austria may present for minor rectifications in her favour.'

On June 24, 1946, I asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

Whether he is aware that for the last 1,300 years the ethnic, linguistic, and economic boundary between the Tyrolese and Italians runs through the Salurn Gorge, 25 miles south of Bozen; and whether he will bring this fact before the meeting of the delegates of Foreign Ministers with a view to an equitable delimitation of the boundary.

The Minister of State (Mr Philip Noel-Baker):

My right hon. Friend (Mr Bevin, the Foreign Secretary) has, I think, made it clear that His Majesty's Government recognise the strength of ethnic and linguistic grounds of the Austrian claim to the Province of Bolzano, but . . . the economic ties of the Province are now with Italy rather than with Austria.

Mr Horabin, Member of Parliament for North Cornwall, speaking in the House of Commons on June 5, 1946, said:

We now know that the South Tyrol question was settled at the Conference of Foreign Ministers in the autumn of 1945 on the lines that South Tyrol should remain with Italy, subject to minor rectifications of frontiers, and this was done almost without discussion at the meeting of Foreign Ministers. I believe that the whole thing was dealt with in a matter of about 30 seconds. We know that there was no Austrian representative present.

Mr Horabin added that Mr Byrnes was the prime mover in insisting that South Tyrol should remain with Italy. He was obviously subordinating the European Peace settlement to the electoral need of the Democratic Party in the United States to obtain the Italian vote at the forthcoming Election.

On the other hand, Lord Vansittart, speaking in the House of Lords on July 29, asserted that: 'The decision about South Tyrol was the Russian way of punishing Austria for not having voted Communist,' and the Lord Chancellor (Lord Jowitt), supporting him, said that Molotov (the Russian Foreign Minister) 'wanted to reject out of hand this particular rectification of the Austrian frontier.'

Mr Hector McNeil, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said:

Let me say quite frankly, not seeking to put the blame on anyone else, that the latest decision is the one by which we are bound, namely, the decision taken by the Council of Foreign Ministers in London last September.

Speaking in the House of Lords on July 29, 1946, Lord Beveridge said that in 1919 South Tyrol contained about 250,000 inhabitants of whom less than 3 per cent. were Italians, and he quoted Lord Balfour, who, speaking as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had said, 'If languages, race, and the wishes of the population had in this case governed the decision, South Tyrol would never have been Italian. Self-determination, however, and nationality were outweighed by strategic considerations.'

Lord Beveridge went on to say:

Clearly the population should not remain under Italian rule for strategic reasons, and we should not do a political wrong for an economic reason. Actually, however, on the facts themselves this is an utterly flimsy pretext for leaving this piece of territory to Italian rule.

And he quoted with approval some of the facts and figures on this matter which had been given to the House of Commons by Colonel Crosthwaite-Eyre, who said:

A great deal has been made of the hydro-electric power system. It appears, however, that either 5 per cent. or possibly 7 per cent. of all the electric power used by Italy comes from South Tyrol. If they lose the whole of that they would still have 95 per cent. of their present hydro-electric power. Can that be any argument for continuing a political wrong?

Lord Cranborne (the present Marquis of Salisbury) said that the Austrian Government would be perfectly willing, and could be pledged in the Treaty, to continue the supply of all the electric power that had hitherto been provided.

Mr Ernest Bevin, replying to my speech in the House of Commons, said:

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by It diction Provi bring In fa The decision on Austria was not made in Paris. It was made in London last September. At that time I was not forced to agree to it. I am not going to say so in this committee. If I agree I must take my responsibility for agreeing; I am not going to hide behind a plea that I was forced to do a thing. I did it and I did it with my eyes open.

#### Mr Bevin added:

In a Conference with four Foreign Ministers when one deals with a recommendation, it is like a Cabinet of this House.

Austria's demand for the application of the right of self-determination in South Tyrol was definitely declined by the Allies on April 30, 1946. Nevertheless, strong pressure was brought to bear on Italy with a view to bringing about a direct agreement between Austria and Italy in order to safeguard the autonomy of the South Tyrolese. An Austro-Italian Agreement on the autonomy of South Tyrol was made on Sept. 5, 1946, in Paris. It was signed by the Italian and Austrian Foreign Ministers, De Gasperi and Gruber. The original text, which was in English, was signed by the two Parties and communicated to the Paris Conference on Sept. 6, 1946. The Agreement was incorporated in the Italian Peace Treaty of Feb. 10, 1947, as Annex IV, at the instigation of the Belgian and Dutch delegations, but the spirit in which Italy carried out this Agreement was well shown by a speech made by De Gasperi on May 25, 1953, when he said: 'Let it at once be said that there are no Germans in South Tyrol. There are only Italian subjects.'

Article I of the Paris Agreement aims at the protection of the national character and at the promotion of the culture and economy of the German-speaking inhabitants by special measures, but the artificial Italian immigration to South Tyrol conflicts with this article both in the letter and in the spirit. This immigration is actively pursued by the Italian trade unions and is promoted by measures of the highest Italian authorities. Article II of the Paris Agreement provides for the exercise 'of autonomous, legislative, and executive regional power.' The failure to implement this article by Italy has led to bitter disappointment. Italy insisted, in contradiction to Article II, on coupling South Tyrol with the Italian Province of Trentino to constitute an autonomous region so as to bring the South Tyrolese under the control of an Italian majority. In fact, the Italians in the combined provinces have a majority of

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5 to 2 against the South Tyrolese. This arrangement certainly did not correspond to the aims of the Paris Agreement. The autonomy statute for the region came into force on March 14, 1948. In the first term of the legislature, 1948–52, there were only 13 South Tyrolese and 33 Italians. The South Tyrolese found that in all questions which affected their interest they were opposed by the United Front of the Italian members of the Regional Council.

In the interview granted by Professor Gschnitzer to the Press, to which reference has already been made, he insists that in the negotiations which he is carrying on at the present moment with Italy, autonomy is the key to the question of South Tyrol and was the central point of the Paris Agreement. He says that by this was meant self-government for German-speaking South Tyrol entirely separate from the Italian Trentino. This autonomy would give South Tyrol security, contentment, and peace: 'It is a European task to see that my country is contented and I therefore make an earnest appeal to European solidarity to help us to solve this most urgent problem.'

DOUGLAS SAVORY

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## THE MIDDLE TEMPLE AND THE U.S.A.

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THE celebration in 1957 of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the first English colony at Jamestown, Virginia, was of peculiar interest to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple because of the close association of that Inn and its beautiful and stately Tudor hall, not only with the Elizabethan and Stuart colonization of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but also with the founding of the Virginia Company and its operations from the sailing of its first expedition until its supercession on the establishment of a form of representative government by the 'Great Charter' of 1618. These early ties between the Middle Temple and the United States of America have continued to the present day and have not weakened with the passage of time; the latest manifestation being the election of His Excellency the Hon. John Hay Whitney, the American Ambassador to the Court of St James, as an Honorary Bencher of the Inn. He is the ninth American Ambassador to be made an Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple, the first having been the Hon. Joseph Choate, who was elected in 1905. Choate was, in fact, the first non-British subject to be admitted to the Bench of any of the four Inns of Court; and the creation of this new precedent was felt to be fully justified by the long and intimate association of the United States with the Middle Temple. Other distinguished Americans have since been made Honorary Benchers in the persons of the Hon. William Howard Taft, who was President of the U.S.A. from 1908 to 1913 and Chief Justice from 1921 to 1930; the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, who succeeded Taft as Chief Justice; and Mr Justice Robert H. Jackson, who was chief counsel for the U.S.A. at the Nuremberg trials.

It is not surprising that so many distinguished Americans should have been invited to become Honorary Benchers, because the Middle Temple may claim with some justification to have been the cradle of the American Republic. Even before the colonizing expeditions sent out by that great Middle Templar, Sir Walter Raleigh, between 1584 and 1602, members of the Inn had played

a leading part in the efforts to discover new trade routes and in the promulgation of the legal doctrine of territoriality by which such routes, if discovered, could be used only by English ships. True, Martin Frobisher was not admitted until after his two famous voyages of discovery; but in 1584 Adrian Gilbert (younger brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert) and a number of other individuals, some of whom were members of the Inn, were incorporated under the title of 'Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North West Passage.' The name of another most famous Middle Templar, Sir Francis Drake, is indissolubly linked with the attainment of English supremacy at sea which was necessary before the work of colonizing could be undertaken; and although the volume of Records containing the entry of his earlier admission is lost, there is mention in a later volume of his appearance in Hall during dinner on August 4, 1586, after his safe return from an expedition to the West Indies. The table in Hall known as the 'Cupboard,' which stands just below the high table and is reputed to have been made from timber taken from the Golden Hind, the ship in which Drake sailed round the world, is a perpetual reminder of his membership. As soon as Drake's work was done, the colonizing expeditions were organized and sent out and several members of the Inn, in addition to Raleigh, were active in the promotion or execution of these undertakings. For example, Philip Amadas was in command of one of the two ships taking part in Raleigh's first expedition to colonize Virginia. It is on record that one Philip Amadas was fined by the Benchers of the Middle Temple on May 28, 1584, for being absent from his studies! Other notable Middle Templars who took part in these expeditions were Ralph Lane, who became the first governor of Virginia; John Wattes, afterwards Lord Mayor, who bore the charges of an expedition in 1590; Bartholomew Gosnold, who commanded an expedition sent at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh; and Richard Martin, who in 1591 was expelled from the Inn for assaulting another member in Hall! He was, however, later received back, was called to the Bar, and became Reader in 1615.

Raleigh's vision of an England beyond the seas had not, however, as yet been realized, and the project was at last seen to be too great for sponsorship by individuals. Hence arose the scheme for the incorporation of a Virginia Chartered Company, in which a leading part was again played by Middle Templars, and notably by Sir

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John Popham, Treasurer of the Inn from 1580 to 1587 and afterwards Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. It was most probably he who first drafted the Charter; and according to one authority 'many of the earlier meetings in connexion with the organization of the scheme . . . took place in the Middle Temple Hall.' The Company's first expedition set sail on Dec. 19, 1606, reached Chesapeake River on April 26, 1607, and started almost at once to establish a settlement at Jamestown. Among these original settlers was another member of the Middle Temple in the person of George Percy, a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who afterwards became Governor of Virginia. It is the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of this settlement that was recently celebrated at Jamestown. Another Middle Templar, Sir Edwin Sandys (who was Treasurer of the Company), for a time acted as Governor of the newly formed colony. He soon perceived that the increasing difficulties encountered by the settlement were in no small measure due to the character of the colonists, who included a large proportion of the roughest and most undesirable elements in the home community; and he persuaded the Company to change their policy and to bring out men of character who desired to emigrate in order to enjoy religious freedom. This change was in accord with the principle enunciated by Francis Bacon in his essay 'Of Plantations,' in which he wrote:

It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing to take the Scumme of People and Wicked Condemned Men to be the People with whom you Plant: and not only so, but it spoileth the Plantation; For they will ever live like Rogues and not fall to worke but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie over to their Country, to the Discredit of the Plantation. The People wherewith you Plant ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes and Bakers.

Sandys further saw that a satisfactory development could only be obtained if the colonists themselves were given some measure of political control; and to this end he secured for them two Charters, under the later of which (1618) the first system of representative government in America was set up. This new form of government, however, did not last very long, for in 1623 the Company was deprived of its charter after an unfavourable report by a Commission of Inquiry set up at the instigation of James I, and the colony

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owever, so great for the leading by Sir then came under the control of the Crown. The intimate connection of the Inn with the affairs of the Virginia Company was continued to the end; for the governors were accustomed to meet in the house of Nicholas Ferrar, one of a large family which provided the Inn with many members, including two of his sons. Others who took a prominent part in the administration of the Company's affairs bear names which probably identify them with contemporary Middle Templars.

Many of the young colonists came to the Middle Temple and the other Inns of Court where they pursued the study of the law and learned the principles of free constitutional government. And so Burke (himself a member of the Inn) was able to say in his speech on Conciliation with the Colonies:

In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study.... I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations.... I hear they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England.

Moreover, there were about 1,400 advance subscribers for the first American edition of this great work. In this setting it is not surprising that the attempt of the home government to impose taxes on the colonists led to a resistance which culminated in war and the famous Declaration of Independence in 1776. In all these events Middle Templars played a prominent part. One of them-Peyton Randolph—presided over the first Continental Congress in 1774, at which delegates from the various colonies met in Philadelphia to consider the best means of common resistance. It was this Congress which drew up a statement of the rights alleged to have been infringed by England, which was in effect the indictment which the mother country had to answer. War began in April 1775 and did not end until 1782. The Declaration of Independence, which had been drafted by Jefferson and settled by a Committee, of which John Dickinson of the Middle Temple was a member, was on July 4, 1776, adopted by twelve of the delegates to a Congress of the

1 It does not appear that Nicholas was himself a member of the Inn, but he was for a time in the service of the Virginia Company, became a member of Parliament in 1624, and later was a founder of the curious Protestant nunnery of Little Gidding.

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thirteen states and a few days later by the thirteenth (New York). There were no less than five members of the Inn among its signatories—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Thomas McKean, Thomas Lynch, and Arthur Middleton. While these stirring events were taking place in America, the whole colonial policy of the government at home was being strenuously opposed in and out of Parliament by Edmund Burke and John Dunning, both of whom were members of the Middle Temple. Dunning was Treasurer of the Inn in 1779, and it was he who moved the famous resolution in the House of Commons that 'the influence of the Crown has in-

creased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.' In its early stages the war was carried on by a 'Congress' which was in effect no more than a committee having no executive authority over the individual states. But when it became obvious that the successful prosecution of the war demanded a much more effective central control, an attempt was made to secure this end by the adoption of 'Articles of Confederation,' the draft of which was the work of John Dickinson. The bond between the thirteen sovereign and independent states established by the Articles was, however, not strong enough to prevent conditions of confusion, amounting almost to chaos, arising after the end of the war. This led to the convoking of a new Convention 'for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of Confederation, in such a way as to render them adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.' This Convention assembled at Philadelphia in 1787 and resulted in the formulation and adoption of the American constitution. Here, once more, a leading part was played by members of the Middle Temple. The draft Constitution was the work of a committee of five, over which John Rutledge, who himself prepared the first draft, presided. John was the eldest of three brothers, all of whom were members of the Inn. He is described in the Register of Admissions under date Oct. 11, 1754, as 'son and heir of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq. Called 9 Feb. 1760.' The Constitution as ultimately adopted was signed by thirty-nine members of the Convention, among them being three Middle Templars, namely, John Rutledge, Jared Ingersoll, and William Livingston.

In all these great events from the earliest colonization to the final adoption of the Constitution, members of the Middle Temple have

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Inn, but member otestant played an important part; and so Thackeray (himself a member of the Inn) on the arrival in London of Harry Warrington (in *The Virginians*) on law business quite naturally makes him go to 'Mr. Draper's chambers in Middle Temple Lane, where Harry handed the precious box over to Mr. Draper, and a letter from his aunt, which the gentleman read with some interest, seemingly, and carefully put away.'

On Oct. 15, 1940, the Elizabethan hall, which had such intimate association with the events described above, was very severely damaged—though, happily, not destroyed—by enemy action in the form of the explosion of a land-mine attached to a parachute which fell on the opposite side of Middle Temple Lane. When the dust and débris had been cleared, the extent of the damage was revealed. To quote from Middle Temple Ordeal (privately printed for the Society in 1948):

A huge piece of masonry had been hurled through the east gable of the hall, smashing the minstrels' gallery and burying the famous oak screen beneath a mass of rubble. It demolished part of the clock tower, shattered both the Chancellors' window and the window in the North Bay opposite, and tore from the walls much panelling adorned with the Readers' Arms.

On Dec. 12, 1944—about five months before the war ended, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother (then Her Majesty the Queen), having been called in absentia, dined with her fellow benchers, not of course in the damaged hall but in the Parliament Chamber. In welcoming Her Majesty, Master Treasurer referred to the tradition stemming from the association with the Inn of Drake, Raleigh, and Queen Elizabeth I: 'Battered but unconquered still stands the Hall where Raleigh revelled and drank deep, and we can tune our ears at the tramp of footsteps on the oaken causeway as Drake seeks passage to the Temple stairs.' In the course of her reply Her Majesty said that 'whilst our walls may crumble, this is of small account so long as the virtues and graces for which this Inn has ever stood continue unshaken and unshakeable. It is upon their foundation that you will rebuild.' This vision of Her Majesty has been fulfilled. The work of restoring the Hall was begun as soon as possible after the end of the war and it was re-opened by Her Majesty on July 6, 1949. It was a costly work and a panel has been placed in the corridor 'in grateful recognition of a generous contributio

Midd Rich June Midd stude Ame work privii bution made by the American Bar Association towards the cost of restoration of this Hall.'

The first recorded admission of an American student to the Middle Temple is that of William Wharton, 'son and heir of Richard W. of Boston, New England, esq.,' who was admitted on June 22, 1681, and called on May 14, 1686; and ever since the Middle Temple has been the Inn of Court to which most American students have come. It was therefore most appropriate that the American Bar Association should have had a direct share in the work of restoring the war-damaged Hall, in which the Inn were privileged to entertain so many of those who attended their Convention in London last year.

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THE paradox of present-day Poland lies in the fact that never in her history was she geographically so far advanced towards the West; but politically, morally, and economically she has never been so far shifted to the East. This is, to my mind, the fundamental tragedy of Poland, which, granted different conditions, could have been a much more 'Western' country than she was before the war.

Nowhere does this tragic paradox emerge more clearly than in Wroclaw. Before the war it was a bustling, tidy, and prosperous city; now it presents a picture of desolation, of heaps of ruins among which the splendidly restored cathedral mocks at the surrounding devastation. Where before the war there were squares and market-places there are now ponds of stagnant water, and among the mud and puddles peasant carts stand from which cabbage, potatoes, and other produce is sold. The purchasers often look more abject than the peasants; small wonder this, as for the peasants, especially for the so-called *sredniaks* (the 'medium-size' ones, not the *kulaks* who are still in bad odour), this is an era of comparative prosperity. Food is expensive; so customers who forgather about the carts in Wroclaw have drawn faces and miserable clothes.

But haven't we seen such pictures before? Of course—in places like Pinsk or Bilgoraj on the Eastern borders of Poland before the war. These parts were called by Polish economists 'Poland B'—while the designation of 'Poland A' was accorded to the Poznan, Pomeranian, and Silesian provinces. Now this 'Poland B'—and sometimes even 'C'—has moved into Western Territories which before the war would probably have been classed as 'Poland Al.' The result of this chaotic resettlement was inevitably disastrous.

True, thousands of Poles from Lvov went to Wroclaw in 1945 and later on sought to create a 'new Lvov' with a university and a printing press bearing the proud name of the Ossolinski family. But the Polish element from Eastern Galicia (now Western Ukraine) couldn't populate the newly acquired territories, especially as it had been decimated by the Russians through enforced deportations in

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1939 and 1940. Thus the population which flocked into the Western Territories was mainly recruited from Eastern Poland, a type which, from the point of view of material civilization, was often close to the Russian muzhik. They came to a country ravaged by war, plundered by Russian troops, then subjected to another wave of systematic plunder by the so-called szabrowniks (the people who picked in the Western Territories everything of value and sold it in Poland proper). The devastation of the western provinces was completed by hundreds of thousands of rather primitive settlers accustomed to a completely different type of agriculture, to whom an agricultural machine was practically unknown. In this once flourishing country hundreds of State farms (or P.G.Rs.) were founded, some of them utterly inefficient. The result of this process of rebarbarization is calamitous: the Poles have pumped some six or seven million people into the western provinces; but they have not succeeded in fully utilizing them.

The Western Territories could have been assets had Poland been a really independent country with a sensible economy. Now the western provinces present a chaotic sight; once resplendent places like Kudowa or Jelenia Gora and Duszniki are centres of despondency, dilapidation, and misery. Communist economy proved itself to be completely unable to master the situation. Enforced resettlements can't solve the problem of orderly development; state farms have failed to cope with the task; everything was done in unholy haste, and the western provinces still wait to be properly used.

In the north, in former East Prussia, the situation seems to be slightly better; but, then, the material standard of these parts of the former Reich was inferior to that of the Lower Silesia and Wroclaw region. The East Prussian landscape is similar to that of former eastern provinces of Poland, and people who came from around Vilna and other places feel quite at home. Still, even East Prussia is far from being administered in a proper way. A recent setback was the retreat of some 14,000 Masurs, a Protestant population speaking a Polish dialect but using a Gothic alphabet. They did not want to stay, so they went to Germany. A valuable potential was lost.

When travelling across the Western Territories one hears the same monotonous complaint: 'You must understand how difficult it was for us to manage the newly acquired lands. Politically, the

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whole problem is unsolved; the Russians may offer our western provinces to East Germany—they are model satellites, those people, and obviously Moscow's favourites. This political uncertainty creates a state of restlessness: people in the Western Territories live "in their suitcases." Good elements have been discouraged, and have returned to Central Poland. The policy of the P.G.Rs. was disastrous; now the situation seems to be somewhat easier, but still the soil does not yield what it should. What can we do? This Communist system breeds misery wherever it prevails. It is a cursed system and no good can come from it.'

Three countries are remembered when travelling across Poland to-day: Germany of 1947, Spain of the 1947-52 period, and pre-war Rumania. Germany of 1947: many still unconcealed ruins, rickety buildings, temporary housing contraptions, and, the inferior, often shocking quality of goods displayed in shops; some streets in Poznan, which has always retained the characteristics of a German town (but before the war it was an orderly, prosperous city with excellent shops and an important middle-class), now look like copies of some back streets in Hamburg in 1947; there is a similar drabness in the dresses of passers-by, the same depressed look, the same unhealthy complexion. But since 1948 Western Germany has made a spectacular recovery; Poland stands still. Spain some ten years ago: overcrowded trams festooned with people riding 'outside', and, above all, the fashion of having three or four jobs, rushing from one to another (Spaniards explained that under such conditions a car, or at least a motor-cycle, was necessary to dash from job to job). Poland has outpaced Spain in that respect: one has to have two or three jobs, openly or secretly, to exist. People are killing themselves with accumulations of work; workers in factories do little jobs at home or have workshops where they produce things on the sly; scientists and scholars lecture here and there, pile up more and more work to keep body and soul together; result-a population tired and dazed by too much work, by too many efforts to obtain the simplest, most vital things in life. (Even a hot bath is a difficulty when housing is atrocious, when there is hardly any privacy left for people living under overcrowded conditions in unaired rooms, and sleep, too, is a problematic affair in the constant va-et-vient of communal lodgings.)

There are pathological phenomena in the accumulation of jobs,

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particularly among the privileged class, or the 'new class,' as Diilas styled it. Last year Zycie Warszawy published a little item under a half-ironical title about a certain Dr L. Krauze of Poznan who succeeded in collecting over a dozen jobs, all well paid, and did not despise even manual work, being also a store-keeper (magazynier) in a warehouse. In this last capacity he was getting about 800 zlotys on every first day of the month, the only occasion when he presented himself. Probably he did not exert himself too much in his other jobs, either, yet his earnings must have been astronomical. Dr Krauze's case emphasizes a situation which is accepted as normal: a multiplicity of jobs. This phenomenon explains the inefficiency of offices and of administration in general, the chaotic conditions in State enterprises, and the fantastic waste prevalent practically everywhere. It is the indirect way of circumventing the cruelly low level of earnings-the direct one being stealing, defrauding, and 'making the manco.'

In that respect Communist Poland has beaten pre-war capitalist Rumania at the game; its whole life is riddled with bribery and corruption on a gigantic scale. True, railway tickets can be bought at standard prices (in pre-war Rumania one did not need to buy them: railway officials traded in them or just accepted bribes to take you to any station), but the extent of bribery is alarming. Officials take bakshish more or less openly (I was told that one can get a passport by paying about 15,000 zlotys to various officials); to get anything quickly, or at all, one has to bribe a succession of people. Poland of to-day would be an excellent subject for writers of the Gogol type.

Every day one is told about scandals in Ministries, State enterprises, State shops and department stores, State farms and small provincial shops. In a village of some 4,000 inhabitants there were, for instance, six manco affairs within three weeks: sums up to 75,000 zlotys were embezzled by cashiers, shop-assistants, and officials. This is regarded as an accepted routine, but some shops stick on their walls a significant notice: 'We work without mancos and excess profit' ('Pracujemy bez mank i superat'). In many cases the authorities are lenient, and even if a man or woman who defrauded the State goes to prison the family makes good the stolen money, and often when a culprit leaves the prison he is greeted

with a nice surprise like an opulent villa built from the proceeds of manco operations.

Recently some breath-taking scandals came to light. There was the case of a lady in Skawina, near Cracow, who bribed Customs authorities and amassed some ten million zlotys from illicit operations. Reading the Polish Press is like scanning a chronique scandaleuse. In the official journal of the pharmaceutical profession there was recently a confession by one of the chiefs of the missions which went to various countries, mostly Russia, to buy medical supplies. This particular kombinator (and all kinds of combinazione are rampant in Communist Poland) admitted to having smuggled out thousands of pairs of ladies' underwear and sold them in Russia; then from the quiet confinement of prison he sent his touching letter stating that though he had failed in his job of bringing medical supplies to Poland he had supplied Russian ladies with artificial silk slips and panties.

This world of embezzlers, cheats, and common thieves seems to be a phantasmagoria, and when one hears the hundreds of stories of such practices one asks: how can a country exist when about twenty billion zlotys a year are being stolen from the State, the total State budget being in the region of two hundred billion zlotys? A tenth is being taken away, and in a September 1957 issue of the paper Zycie Literackie of Cracow its editor asked in a stern article whether the country will not collapse, bled white by thieving. He gave his article the title of the once-famous novel by Stefan Zeromski, Ravens and Crows will eat us up.

The anxiety expressed by the Cracow paper does not seem at all exaggerated, as will be shown by two further examples, for the truth of which I can vouch. In a scientific institute a precious instrument had to be installed, but when it was placed on a pillar the thing crashed down. It was then discovered that workers had not used cement; they had 'transferred' it to their own workshops (many are masons and builders in their spare time), and this kind of practice is being repeated in thousands of factories. Absenteeism is not so much a result of ill-health or of deteriorating discipline, but of the fact that workers do little jobs 'aside' and simply don't turn up for factory duties. They steal everything they can lay hands on; otherwise they couldn't exist on their miserable pay packets.

In a chemical laboratory the manager wanted some electric

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pende situat this p installations done. He convened a round-table conference with representatives of three departments concerned (among them the Ministry of Transport). They discussed the matter and then the three officials stated that the installation would cost about 50,000 zlotys. To this the manager replied that he couldn't afford it, that the money in hand for his purpose amounted to about 15,000 zlotys. The conference ended inconclusively, but later, while sipping vodka, the three officials presented themselves as 'private entrepreneurs' and announced that they could 'do the job for about 11,000 zlotys'; they had the necessary material and workers. 'We have recently bought some lengths of electric cable from the Soviet troops in L..., so we could do it cheaply. We expect you will accept our offer.' The manager did not hesitate, and this true little story throws a curious light on the fantastic scene of Poland's trade and commerce, where officials first parade as guardians of the interests of the State and then as competitive 'private enterprise.' This comedy of changing rôles smacks of a French farce where the same man appears in various guises and confuses everybody. It seems that such a quick-change act is being performed in Poland on hundreds of occasions.

There is already a new school of cynics who bluntly declare that in a Communist State thieving is fully legitimate and that the 'bulk of the national income in no way suffers by such operations.' This may be so, and being myself an ignoramus in economics I have no ready answer to this new concept of national income. But it is obvious that the moral devastation brought about by such conditions is enormous, and people in Poland are fully aware of this. I have met people who openly admitted that they were stealing. The driver of an official car who was doing some 'charges' (or, as they say in Poland, 'courses') on the sly told me: 'What do you expect? I have a family of five to feed. Every day I have to steal some 50 zlotys by using this car as a taxi.' A waiter of a once respectable restaurant in Warsaw said to me: 'Before the war I would have considered it shameful to take anything from the kitchen. Now it is merely routine.'

The greatest danger to Poland's stability and precarious 'independence' from Russia is to-day concealed in Poland's economic situation; the country is heading for an economic disaster unless this process is halted by a joint effort by authorities and people. In

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otherelectric agriculture an improvement has been recorded, but none in industrial life. If the fatal dualism of State machinery and of private under-the-counter-enterprise (based mostly on theft from the State) continues, this division is likely to bring calamity to Poland. Such a double economy ravages the country beyond description; and the amount of waste involved is simply incredible.

There is much talk in Poland about a foreign loan, but sensible people realize that the U.S. can't give a substantial loan without proper supervision of its use and distribution. (Until now people in Poland remember U.N.R.R.A. as the most wonderful help they ever had.) Gomulka's government cannot accept such 'strings' (though after the First World War America's financial aid to Poland was supervised by a special U.S. mission). Thus there is no end to the vicious circle.

Can Gomulka appeal to the nation and spur it to new efforts in the economic sphere? Hardly: his popularity is on the wane; he has failed to assemble a body of competent economists to begin the cure of the corrupt system; and if he did make any advances to some able economists, they did not respond. The task of repairing Poland's economy is great enough to daunt the most courageous spirit.

Politically, the advantages ganed by the October revolution seem to be fading. The Press is less free and lively, and it is commonly suspected that it was under pressure from Moscow that Gomulka decided to close the *Poprostu* weekly. Moscow's *Pravda* has resumed attacks on Polish intellectuals (such as Slonimski, who showed during the critical months of change in Poland a renewed moral courage). Gomulka intends to stifle those dangerous intellectuals and 'side with the mediocrities of the Party,' as some Poles put it.

But the October revolution engendered many valuable changes and it will be difficult to stop them or even to restrain them. One has only to see a performance of that excellent satirical revue Wagabunda to realize how free Poland can be in the expression of opinion. The emigré Polish political revues in London seem to be emasculated and ghost-like in contrast to the vigorous, full-blooded criticism of Wagabunda.

Much has been written about Poland's progress on the road to literacy. For somebody who has not seen the country for years the bookread and p of the by M is said tion of Now influe 'classi Life

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doctri holes. prostr trying rise. book-craze is an astounding sight. Books are sold everywhere and read avidly. They have become more expensive now (so are papers and periodicals), but there is no considerable drop in the circulation of the really worth-while books. Only Communist literature, headed by Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Engels, can't make any headway: it is said that the State has lost about a billion zlotys on the publication of that literature, as well as on volumes by 'official' writers. Now the book market is to be controlled more by the healthier influence of demand than by the necessity to publish Communist 'classics.'

Life is astir in Poland in many domains: but the real tragedy is that it cannot develop because of the rigid and doctrinaire system which, in spite of bankruptcy, stubbornly clings to stupid dogmas. To allow private initiative on even a modest scale would help Poland enormously; but then the State enterprises would be shown in the full nakedness of their inefficiency. Dare a Communist State give such an informative lesson to citizens with whom it has already become a laughing-stock? Hardly.

Tragic waste of human effort, feeble chances of recovery, a futile doctrinaire system which wants to put square pegs into round holes. The picture one takes from Poland is one of somebody prostrate on the floor and bleeding from many wounds—but still trying to get up, despite sinister forces frustrating all efforts to rise.

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# THE ROYAL STEWARTS AS PATRONS OF THE ARTS

THE Royal Stewarts were, almost without exception, artistically inclined, which may be why they did not, on the whole, make successful kings, at least not in England, where politics and commerce have always dominated the arts. The position of Charles I is particularly interesting in this respect, and not, I am glad to say, entirely misunderstood; but one has to remember that he and his forbears were Scotsmen, hence their obstinacy and preoccupation with religious matters; and hence too their incapacity to compromise, for in Scotland principles count for more than expediency, and Scots law itself is based on principle not precedent. Thus, the Stewarts, with the possible exception of Charles II, were never fully accepted in the south; and 'romantic but wrong' is the verdict usually passed on them.

The first two rulers in this alternatively attractive and exasperating line, Robert II and Robert III, preferred peace to war, and are generally written-off as 'weak,' but the third, James I, showed a remarkable capacity for governing his wayward subjects, and he was, probably, as good a monarch as we, or anybody else, could normally expect. Physically he seems to have been something of a paragon, excelling in all the manly sports and pastimes. He was, besides, a competent painter, an accomplished musician and a sensitive poet; indeed, his Royal Library of Music has provided the B.B.C. with interesting material, and not just for the Third Programme; while one of his poetical works, the so-called 'King's Quair,' or book, in which he idealized his love for the beautiful Joan Beaufort, his English queen, has also survived and is still much appreciated.

James I was on intimate terms with other contemporary rulers and drew to his court many famous men, including the great Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena and future Pope Pius II. This consummate connoisseur and patron of the arts carefully noted what he saw in fifteenth-century Scotland; and Pinturicchio, a painter of considerable virtuosity, recorded the archbishop's visit

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in a splendid fresco, wonderfully preserved, in the Cathedral Library at Siena; it shows Aeneas Sylvius as a young man presenting himself to the King of Scots, with Edinburgh Castle and shipries in the barbary at Leith in the barbary and

ping in the harbour at Leith in the background.

We can skip James II—he was killed in an explosion at the age of twenty-one—but not James III, who supported clever favourites, displayed an inordinate sense of piety, and was very fond of the arts. He gave us our first notable oil painting, a votive-piece by Hugo van der Goes, which, formerly in the Kirk of Trinity College, Edinburgh, is now housed in the Scottish National Gallery. It is, I imagine, the most valuable thing of its kind in North Britain, and depicts, on four large panels, life-size portraits of the king mystically crowned by Saint Andrew, his son James, his wife, Margaret of Denmark, his mother, Mary of Gueldres, who founded Trinity Kirk, the Provost of Trinity College, Sir Edward Bonckle, and an unusually precise representation of the Holy Trinity.

James III introduced Renaissance architecture and sculpture to the north, in the form and decoration of the Great Hall at Stirling Castle, which was designed by one of his favourites, Robert Cochrane, first holder of the post of 'King's Mason,' the last being William Adam, father of the Adam Brothers. Cochrane, together with all the other royal favourites, a tailor, a smith, and a musician, was brutally done to death by jealous lords, and not long afterwards the king himself was murdered. However, the work of civilizing Scotland proceeded apace under his successor, James IV, who was calinteened a prince as over set on the theorem.

as enlightened a prince as ever sat on the throne.

The Scots court was then modelled, so far as finances and local conditions permitted, on continental lines, for James IV was anxious to keep up with his fellows, especially Henry VIII of England and François Premier of France. He understood 'Inglis,' French, German, Spanish, Flemish, Latin, and Italian, and was the last of the Royal Stewarts to have the Gaelic. He was a thorough-going sportsman, possessed literary ability, and dabbled in science. Like his great-grandfather, he enjoyed close and friendly contacts with other kings and noble personages, and the portrait of him by Jacques le Bonq d'Artois, in the Town Museum at Arras, bears some testimony to these foreign associations.

During James IV's stewardship the Renaissance made significant progress in the country, and quite naturally its influence was largely

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rulers eneas us II. noted nio, a to be seen in the appearance of royal palaces and castles, such as Stirling, already half 'Italian'; Edinburgh Castle, where a magnificent new Banqueting Hall, with a superb hammer-beam roof, was erected; Holyroodhouse, rebuilt under the ægis of the French mason Walter Merlioun; and Linlithgow, perhaps the most ambitious of the royal ploys, which had to be converted from a rambling old Gothic stronghold into a princely residence fit for the reception of the king's bride, Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

At Stirling James created the earliest known formal garden in Scotland, the 'King's Knott,' which he filled with exotic birds, cranes, and peacocks; and the various royal demesnes were stocked with deer, wild cattle, and boar. The parks were used for tournaments, and the courtiers were customarily entertained by minstrels and poets. The furnishings at both Stirling and Linlithgow were absolutely marvellous, Queen Margaret finding them superior even to those of her brother's court in England; and of particular beauty and rare workmanship were some expensive French tapestries depicting subjects from biblical and 'classical' lore.

The defeat of Flodden put an end to many of the king's most cherished schemes; he had made his kingdom the equal of any other in Europe and raised it to the status of a first-rate power; but James V began well. He codified the Scots legal system and founded a professional College of Justice, on the model of Pavia; Stirling Castle was completed; Holyroodhouse embellished with chaste Florentine panellings and ceilings; and Falkland, undoubtedly the finest early Renaissance structure in the country, was commenced. Here the father of Mary Queen of Scots set himself the task of creating a hunting-lodge in the style of Chambord. He had previously emulated François Premier by installing a double-staircase in the northeast tower of Holyroodhouse, and he chose for masons Nicolas Roy and Moyse Martin d'Orléans, one of whom, at least, must have witnessed the building of Chambord and may, conceivably, have also met Leonardo da Vinci, whose hand has been detected in some of the work there: 'Forse che se, forse che non.'

Falkland, approached through the turreted twin towers of a distinctly Urbinesque gatehouse, is grouped around an 'Italian' court-yard, cleverly divided by 'Roman' pilasters and decorated with 'Roman' medallions, the latter rather like those at Hampton Court, only made of stone instead of terra-cotta, and these enshrine sculp-

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Inigo a pro the w archit ductio Italia years' stage-King tured portraits of contemporary royal, ecclesiastical, and noble figures, such as James V himself, his two queens, Magdalen of France and Mary of Lorraine, his chief minister, Cardinal Beaton, and his erstwhile tutor, the self-styled 'Lyon King of Arms,' Sir David Lyndsay. It was Lyndsay who wrote 'Ane Satyr of the Thrie Estatis,' a pungent, pre-Shakespearean masterpiece which, recently revived for an Edinburgh Festival, was commissioned by James V and first performed in the Great Hall at Linlithgow Palace, in the presence of the satirized.

The sad, 'romantic' story of Marie Stewart has tended to obscure the fact that she too was an artist and connoisseur of standing; her 'circle' in Edinburgh was quite brilliant, and her prowess as a poetess well recognized throughout the western world. She brought 'contra dancing' here, now emasculated and perverted somewhat into 'country-dancing,' encouraged the use of needlework, and stimulated a healthy appreciation of the culinary arts. Mary Queen of Scots taught us how to make baps, bridies, dropped scones and shortbread, 'petites gatelles' or 'petticoatails,' and marmalade, most of which comestibles we consume at 'high tea.'

Queen Mary's son, James VI and I, was perhaps the least presentable of the Royal Stewarts, although many of his unattractive habits must be put down to an atrocious upbringing away from women and in the company of traitors and place-seekers. He did, on the other hand, do much for the arts, both before and after 'L'Union Jacques.' Linlithgow Palace was restored and the best part of Edinburgh Castle built; he founded Edinburgh University; and his Scots court was renowned for its literary achievements. Further, King James's participation in the translation and preparation of the 'Authorized Version' was surely far from negligible.

Through the influence of Anne of Denmark the remarkable Inigo Jones was appointed Surveyor to Henry Prince of Wales, a promising young man whose untimely death probably changed the whole course of British history; and it was Jones who, as architect and artistic collaborator with Ben Jonson in the production of Jacobean masques and ballets, finally established Italian' culture in these islands. Returning home from many years' study in Italy, this extraordinary genius, the inventor of stage-lighting and movable scenery, became Surveyor to the first King of 'Great Brittany' himself, and one of his earliest commissions

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a discourtl with Court, sculpwas for the 'Queen's House' at Greenwich, a purely Palladian design the like of which had never previously been seen in the United Kingdom.

The Queen's House repeats the principal features of a Venetian villa of the 'Terra Firma,' with a dash of Urbino thrown in for good measure; the loggia certainly reminds one of Duke Frederigo's private 'window on to the world'; but it was not finished by the time the queen died, and work was discontinued until Charles I had the place completed for Henrietta Maria. 'The House of Delight,' as it was sometimes called, contained paintings and works of sculpture of fabulous worth, by Rubens, Titian, and Raphael, a ceiling by Guilio Romano, the famous bust of King Charles by Bernini, tapestries from Mortlake, and rich Renaissance furniture and fittings.

Another of Inigo Jones's masterpieces is the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, which Sacheverell Sitwell considers the finest building in London. In common with the Queen's House at Greenwich it was started for King James and completed by his son, and, apart from an exquisite and well-known façade, it contains a sumptuous ceiling by Sir Peter Paul Rubens. This forms an apotheosis of the Royal Stewart family, with James VI and I as the central figure, looking, one must admit, rather Prosperoesque.

Charles I inherited from his brother Henry a small, but choice, collection of pictures and objets d'art, and with these as a nucleus he built up his own vast collection, the most catholic and valuable in Europe. He patronized Dutch and Flemish artists of distinction, Mytens and, of course, Anthony van Dyck; and after the arrival of Rubens in England the British school of painting came into existence. Dobson, Lely, Kneller, Reynolds, and Gainsborough, to name only a few, carried on in the same artistic tradition, as too, I think one may say, did the Scots, Ramsay and Raeburn.

I have mentioned the Mortlake Tapestries, which were of Royal Jacobean foundation; they had their hey-day in the reign of King Charles, however, for it was then that Van Dyck completed Raphael's tapestry cartoons and Rubens was employed drawing sketches for the royal 'hangings.' Rubens actually purchased the Raphael cartoons on behalf of the king; and other exciting and important acquisitions of the period were Titian's 'Disciple at

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Min Coror that I consecerem to the exhibpeculi Emmaus' and his splendid 'Entombment,' both now in the Louvre; Correggio's 'Education of Cupid,' in the National Gallery; and Mantegna's cartoons from the Gonzaga Collection at Mantua, in the Orangery at Hampton Court.

King Charles was born at Dunfermline, in the Kingdom of Fife; he was the last of our native rulers to visit Scotland as a reigning monarch. He raised Edinburgh to the dignity of a city, declared it the capital, and founded the episcopal diocese of Edenburgensis when the High Kirk of St Giles' temporarily became a cathedral. He implemented Knox's far-reaching and novel educational plans, restored to the Church moneys filched from it at the Reformation, and took an active part in the making and ordering of the first purely Scottish Prayer Book. His liturgy, unceremoniously thrown out at the time, has since been recognized as a masterly work, and it has strongly influenced the compilation of other liturgies, notably those of South Africa and the United States of America.

In 1633 the king decided to be crowned in the manner of his ancestors in Edinburgh, and from this single event sprang most of the cultural innovations of seventeeth-century Scotland. The Abbey of Holyrood was restored for the occasion, and a new late-Gothic east window inserted, while Parliament Hall, then in the process of rebuilding, had its splendid carved oak roof, consisting of twelve immense arched trusses and eighty-four gilded cles-pendants, installed in time for Charles to open 'Estatis' in person. The royal palaces of Holyroodhouse, Stirling, and Falkland were redecorated in the current version of the Renaissance; nobles and burgesses had their portraits painted; poets, such as Drummond of Hawthornden, composed florid 'Italian' verses; and Scotswomen started to take an interest in fashion.

Minute instructions were sent up from London as to how the Coronation should be performed and a special service based on that last used for James IV was issued. Practically everyone of consequence, from Lord Bishops to Lord Provosts, attended the ceremony, which was carried out fastidiously, with great pomp, and to the accompaniment of modish music. It was the last genuine exhibition of 'Scotice' pageantry, the culmination of our own peculiar history: less than twenty years later the politics of Charles I

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Charles II, many of whose good qualities were crushed out of him at an early age, came home determined to have a gay time, and his reign is noted for its moral laxity and political cynicism. Nevertheless, the 'Merry Monarch' was no mean connoisseur, the ripe attractions of his 'ladies,' immortalized, if that is the correct word, in a delicious series of portraits by Sir Peter Lely, proves this; and the restored king obviously enjoyed living in civilized surroundings. He encouraged Italian musicians, French actors and actresses, Flemish and Dutch painters and 'stuccatore'; he was particularly keen on intricate and beautiful plasterwork, craftsmen in silver, wood, and iron, and Palladian architects; and his attention to the rebuilding of St Paul's was distinctly authoritative in its scope.

His father's marvellous collection, all except the books and manuscripts, had been dispersed or sold by the Puritans, but at the Restoration a proportion was brought back and part of it taken to Hampton Court, which was restored for the arrival of Catherine of Braganza. Once more the rooms were draped with tapestries made to Raphael's designs, filled with magnificent Renaissance furniture; Mantegna's 'Cæsarian' cartoons returned, and the park, till then almost a wilderness, was laid out for canals and fountains, and avenues of trees were planted. At Windsor a new Royal Suite was added, and this, to my mind, is one of the most delightful memorials we have to the golden age of British art. It boasts an entrancing private dining-room, panelled and carved by Grinling Gibbons, the engaging swags of fruit, fish, and game seeming especially apposite. The ceiling is gaily painted, the work of Antonio Verrio, and the room completed by a characteristic portrait of Queen Catherine.

Greenwich Observatory was founded by Charles II, and Chelsea Hospital too, a pleasant, gentlemanly exercise in vermilion and 'blanco'; and both were designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the greatest of all British architects. Wren did not, however, alter the 'King's House' at Greenwich, though he was, in due course, employed on its complementary south-east wing by Queen Mary, wife of William of Orange; and it was Master Webb, principal pupil of Inigo Jones, who did the original block, faithfully copying the intended elevations devised by Jones for Charles I. Thus, the tout

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James the P impre ensemble at Greenwich really results from the combined efforts of Webb, following Inigo Jones, and Wren, following Webb, with Charles I, Charles II, and Mary II acting as godparents.

The king, who 'never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one,' or so they say, had no wish to revisit Scotland, where he had suffered untold misery at the hands of bargaining Calvinists in the sixteen-fifties, but, just in case, he insisted that Holyroodhouse should be rendered tolerably elegant and comfortable. Sir William Bruce, Surveyor to the King's Works, supervised the rebuilding, ably assisted by Robert Mylne, 'King's Mason,' and the idea was to leave intact the old northern tower of James IV and construct another, identical one, to the south. Between the two Bruce ran a Doric portico and grafted the new 'classical' palace on behind. It is, I think, the best and most complete example in Britain of a Caroline structure, the interior in particular being almost entirely midseventeenth-century in feeling. The great staircase is noble to a degree, not delicate as at Hampton Court, but sturdy, patently 'Italian,' yet Scotch too, with its big stone steps and bulbous stone balusters and balustrading.

A major part of the stone masonry was wrought by Flemish masons, while the panelling and plasterwork were done by Hollanders, specially provided by the king. There are some first-rate specimens of 'fretwork' ceilings, marble chimneypieces, and French window glasses, and amongst the pictures and tapestries is an amusing series of 106 portraits of the king's ancestors, mythical and otherwise, all painted from the same model, in a matter of months, by a Dutchman named De Wet!

Externally the Palace resembles a large French chateau, but the courtyard is definitely 'Italian,' deriving from the Cortile of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome; and this Continental mixture, turned out in a Scots mould, seems to reflect something of the odd make-up of the 'Merry Monarch' himself, in whose veins flowed the blood of Henry of Navarre, Marie de Medici, Anne of Denmark, and the 'wisest fool in Christendom.'

Charles II never saw his northern home, although his brother, James Duke of York, did, when, with Maria Beatrice d'Este and the Princess Anne, he came to Edinburgh as Viceroy. The Duke impressed the lowland Scots by the gravity of his demeanour and

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also, perhaps, by his addiction to golf, which he played on Leith Links; and cultivated citizens of 'Auld Reekie,' ignoring or excusing James's Papist leanings, would call at Holyroodhouse to discuss art and politics, or come to listen to Duchess Mary's Italian musicians. There was an unnaturally idyllic atmosphere about Viceregal Edinburgh, redolent of the days of Marie Stewart, and like her court this one too was short-lived.

The reign of the 'most popular king in British history' was commemorated in Edinburgh by the erection of a fine equestrian statue of him in Parliament Square. It is quite unique in North Britain, was made on the Continent, and forms one of four such statues cast in the seventeenth century, another being Le Sueur's lovely mounted figure of King Charles the Martyr at the top of Whitehall. It has miraculously escaped damage despite its proximity to scenes of mob violence, and for many years bairns from nearby wynds and closes used to garland the king with oak leaves on his birthday. Their well-intentioned clamberings eventually caused the statue to list, but experts have now righted the harm, and the 'Merry Monarch,' incongruously dressed as a Roman Emperor, trots, triumphant, within a few feet of the grave of John Knox, if not actually over it!

James VII and II was dethroned in 1688; he was not a pronounced success either as a ruler or patron of the arts, although he did build one of the handsomest churches in Edinburgh, the baroque-fronted Kirk of the Canongait, and restored Holyrood Abbey as the chapel for the Order of the Thistle. The Duke of York's Theatre in London is just one reminder of James's activities, whilst a second is Grinling Gibbons's superb and shiny statue of him standing, Cæsar-like, outside the Admiralty.

Queen Mary, James's elder daughter, carried on the Royal Stewart tradition with gusto, especially when she frankly forbade William of Orange to interfere with her childhood haunts, the 'Queen's House' and the 'King's House' at Greenwich; and Wren was forced to imitate the architecture of Inigo Jones at Greenwich Hospital. As for sister Anne, she lent her name to a style, but styles in themselves are not what concern us here, otherwise a host of non-royal buildings, places, and people, including numerous poets, playwrights, diarists, and literary critics, would have to be men-

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Canc the C dreds Hills a spl Chari respe tioned. Stewart patronage is the subject under review, and in this context 'Good Queen Anne' only plays a small part. She did, however, commission the Orangery at Kensington Palace, which is probably the most perfect little piece of architecture Wren ever produced. In this jewel of bricks and mortar the last Stewart monarch took her tea, calling the place her 'Summer Supper House.'

With the collapse of our hereditary monarchy the influence of the Royal Stewarts dwindled and withered away. The 'King over the Water,' James VIII and III, was a shadowy figure whose links with British, or any other culture, were loose indeed. On the other hand, he enjoyed a short sojourn in the Palace of Frederigo di Montefeltro at Urbino, a glorious building, architecturally associated with James V's 'Hunting Lodge' at Falkland. At Urbino 'Le Chevalier de St Georges' was comforted by the Earl of Mar, who organized poetry readings and chamber-music concerts in the breathtakingly chaste rooms of this world-famous Quattrocento residence, for even the dullest of the Stewarts appreciated music and poetry, indeed, the very last of them, Cardinal York, found more consolation in these oral pursuits than in almost anything else.

Prince Henry Benedict Maria Stewart has received scant attention from historians, his sheltered life being dwarfed by the romantic and flamboyant doings of brother Charles, the 'Bonnie Prince' of legend and song, yet in some respects he was the most Stewartly of the two. Good-looking and charming, a brilliant dancer, a lover of poetry and music, refined company, and elegant living, the Archbishop of Frascati and Cardinal York remained passionately attached to religion, and refused to surrender any of his royal prerogative; he even touched for king's evil.

Commodiously housed in Bramante's sumptuous Palazzo della Cancellaria, he was Vice-Chancellor of the Patrimony of Saint Peter; the Cardinal enjoyed semi-royal status and gave hospitality to hundreds of deserving, and undeserving, folk. On his estate in the Alban Hills he entertained on a grand scale, and surrounded himself with a splendour none of his forbears could have afforded, not even Charles I. The last of the Stewarts survived to a ripe old age, respected not only by those who supported his house but by Hanoverians. He died in 1807, and left his treasures, including the

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Scots Coronation Ring and the original Ensign of the Order of the Thistle, to George III, through whose generosity he had subsisted ever since the French Revolution. These historic relics were later brought back to Scotland, and housed in the Crown Chamber at Edinburgh Castle, where they now are, while George IV, in a magnificent and typical gesture, subsequently ordered and paid for the erection in St Peter's Basilica of Canova's tasteful, white-marble memorial to 'James III, Charles III, and Henry XI.'

HUBERT FENWICK

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### BOOK REVIEWS

Galloping Head. Sydney Jackman. The Holy Fire. Robert Payne.

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Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization. John U. Nef.

Machiavelli and the Renaissance. Professor Frederico Chabod.

Great Western Steam. W. A. Tuplin, A Place in the Forest. The Earl of

Bessborough.

The Boer War. Edgar Holt.

An Outline of Anglo-American Bible History. Edgar Newgass.

The Footprint of the Buddha. E. F. C. Ludowyk.

Harmony for the Listener. Robert Jacobs.

Passionate Exiles. Maurice Levaillant (trans. by Malcolm Barnes).

The Letters of John Cowper Powys to Louis Wilkinson, 1935 to 1956. Louis Wilkinson.

Galloping Head, by Sydney Jackman (Phoenix House), is, as the author says, 'the story of an extraordinary man-a man of singular versatility and originality who is practically unknown to-day.' He began as a Royal Engineer when he saw service in the Napoleonic Wars. Then he left the Army and became a mining expert in South America, but his fully justified condemnatory report on mining prospects there ended that part of his career. Then, for no very obvious reasons, he was made Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, where he showed great energy and had to deal with considerable political trouble, which he did in a somewhat high-handed manner. When he came home he became Director of a Canal Company and perhaps, above all, a determined author. He was a regular contributor to the Quarterly Review and wrote many books, all published by John Murray II and III, who, though greatly appreciating his friendship, found him at times a very masterful and exhausting author; and it was not only his publishers who found him difficult and intolerant. However, he usually managed to get his own way at the end with whomever he was dealing, and certainly was never convinced that he was anything but perfectly right in all his views! He was also a very keen sportsman. Mr Jackman with judgment and humour brings Head back to life and has written a most readable and concise biography.

The Holy Fire, by Robert Payne (Skeffington), has every aid to a reader immersed in what may perhaps be an unfamiliar subject, the story of the Fathers of the Eastern Church. The end-papers are

maps; there are a chronological table, a short but useful bibliography, and a good index. The author has tried to show the Fathers against the background of their time, but the title, which is taken from the De Caelestia Ierarchia of Dionysius the Areopagite, shows tnat, though they were indeed historical figures of the Eastern Church, yet they are saints for the whole of Christendom. Readers who are interested in the Occumenical movement and who are aware of the great revival of interest in the Orthodox Churches in recent years in this country must be grateful to Mr Payne for this book. The names of these men are of course familiar: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Gregory Palamas, and others, but the average person is unaware of how much Western, as well as Eastern, Christendom owes to them. In this book they come alive for us, and Mr Payne has included many quotations from their works. Perhaps the chapter on Dionysius the Areopagite is one of the most interesting. The identity of this author still remains a mystery, but Mr Payne discusses his writings in a way that makes his personality vivid. The lives of the men discussed in this book spanned many centuries, from St Ignatius in the First to Gregory Palamas in the Fourteenth, yet there is a characteristic common to all of them. They were all saints, and they lived their lives at white heat, absorbed in love for the Risen and Ruling Christ. Their influence on our thought and worship is immense; even our word 'Church,' as the author points out, is Greek in origin. This book is another contribution to the growing understanding between Eastern and Western Christendom, and a valuable one.

Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization, by John U. Nef (Cambridge), consists of the Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, in 1956. It follows, and is a successor to, Professor Herbert Butterfield's Man on His Past. Mr Nef is Professor of Economic History in the University of Chicago, but has come to realize that to approach the problems of the origins of the industrial world solely in terms of economics is a mistake. In this book he set out to consider the 'rise of industrialism from the vantage point of general history.' Although he knew that this laid him open to the danger of becoming superficial, nevertheless he was convinced that 'it was mainly the human spirit that created industrialism as we

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find it,' a statement that will seem to many to be profoundly true, though sometimes nearly forgotten in these days of historical specialization. Mr Nef starts by analysing movements of the mind in the century from c. 1570, and then goes on to examine the genesis of Industrialism. These topics examined, he moves to the central portion of the book, the study of civilization per se, its origin, spiritual and æsthetic bases, and its connection with Industrialism. It is perhaps inevitable that such a method of handling the subject should be provocative, but it is possible that Mr Nef goes too far, as when, for example, he says (p. 85), 'for Europeans of the times of Anselm, Abélard and Héloïse, Bernard of Clairvaux, civilization was not yet born.' John of Salisbury and Thomas Aquinas, their contemporaries, would certainly have disagreed. Nor, possibly, is it true to confine Industrialism to modern times. But the author makes a valuable contribution in pinning down the difference between the medieval and modern world partly to a changing view of reality; medieval reality being subjective where modern is objective. The word 'delight' plays a large part in this book, and the author believes that it is only when man learns to respond to all beauty, æsthetic and moral, that he can become truly civilized or human. 'It is,' he writes, 'a newly created economy of delight, in the service of the good, that should come eventually to lead and direct the quantitative economy—the industrialism—which now dominates our planet.' This is a stimulating book, and has the merit also of being enjoyable. Eastern

> The name of Professor Frederico Chabod is a well-known one to most students of Machiavelli, but hitherto his essays have been largely inaccessible in this country. Now, however, in Machiavelli and the Renaissance (Bowes and Bowes) four of his important writings have been gathered together in an English translation. Probably the most important single essay is the second, 'The Prince.' This essay, first published in the Nuova Rivista Storica in 1925, is indispensable for students of the subject, and, as A. P. d'Entrèves in his introduction says, 'represented at the time of its appearance, and still represents in many ways, a landmark in Machiavelli studies.' Machiavelli himself is a landmark in the history of political thought, since he was the first writer to place politics outside the realm of good and evil. In this essay on his writing Professor

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ge point n to the ced that n as we Chabod analyses the scene at the time the book was written, and then deals with the thought of the writing itself, and he touches on its effects. The other very important essay is the last one, 'The Concept of the Renaissance.' This first appeared in 1942, and is particularly valuable from having been written by an Italian. The 'problem' of the Renaissance has always been an acute one for Italian historians, and in the past they have tended to treat it either romantically, or scientifically in isolation. Professor Chabod, owing much to Croce, aims at presenting Machiavelli 'as the expression ... of Italian life throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.' The present text of these essays is much the same as the original, but there are additions in square brackets in important places. It is perhaps a pity that these could not be more incorporated into the text; a footnote of three pages, as for example pp. 34-6, is really too long. The bibliography is completely revised and rearranged, and should prove very helpful. It is, however, meant particularly for the serious student of the Italian Renaissance, and not for the casual reader. It is very full, German and Italian scholars being predominant in number.

Great Western Steam, by W. A. Tuplin, D.Sc. (Allen and Unwin), will be a joy to really expert railway 'fans' but esoteric for the general public owing to the plentiful use of technical terms in the description of engines and their component parts which the ordinary reader can hardly be expected to know. Steam engines are steadily going out of use and, though this is sad for the romantic idea of the engine gleaming in paint and metal with white smoke streaming away behind, pulling a famous express at a minute a mile, the diesel engine, though ugly to look at, means cleanliness and immense saving of labour, and therefore must be welcomed. However, Dr Tuplin's book is a really valuable record of railway engines and what they have done in ordinary work and special runs in the past. Perhaps the book can best be summed up in the author's own words: 'For the student or the lover of the locomotive, the Great Western is unique. At the end it had not the largest locomotives in Great Britain, nor the fastest trains, nor the British railway-speed record, but the locomotives associated with these distinctions all owed much to Swindon practice, which had been developed, nor for the purpose of breaking records, but simply to meet anticipated operate edly verailwathey co

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operating needs with certainty and economy.' The book undoubtedly will bring happy memories to many readers who delighted in railways when young, and if they cannot understand all the terms they can perhaps guess at the meaning.

A Place in the Forest, by the Earl of Bessborough (Batsford), tells the story of Stansted in Sussex—a story well worth the telling. It begins before the Conquest, and from then till 1579 the place belonged to the d'Aubigny and Fitzalan Earls of Arundel. Then it passed by collateral descent to the Lumley Earls of Scarbrough and Montagu-Dunk Earls of Halifax. The first sale came in 1771, to Richard Barwell, an Indian 'Nabob.' Further sales brought the property eventually into the hands of the late Lord Bessborough, who greatly improved it and adorned it with his family portraits and other works of art. Kings and queens and many other famous people have stayed there in the course of time. The present house was built about 1690 and, though largely destroyed by fire in 1900, was rebuilt in its former style. The present Lord Bessborough continues his paternal care and love of the place which is his home, and he tells clearly and concisely the ups and downs of fortune that it has experienced, including sporting references and theatricals, which have keenly appealed to the Pon onby family. Stansted may not be as famous as neighbouring Arundel or Goodwood, but its history, so well told, makes good reading.

The Boer War, by Edgar Holt (Putnams), is, we are told, the story of the first of modern wars and yet one in which old-fashioned heroics were still practised. It is certainly an outstanding example of our national custom of going to war with preparations too little and too late. We started the war in South Africa with very few troops there, and it was thought that sending out an Army Corps of 40,000 men would certainly be enough to finish it. By the end of the war 400,000 had served there. Incidentally, too, of the generals who held high command at the beginning only three did so at the end. The large majority had, very rightly, been sacked. The author gives a clear account of the various campaigns and of the painful lessons that had to be learnt before victory was reached. When Lord Roberts came home at the end of 1900, it was thought that all was over. As it happens nearly eighteen months of war remained, when

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speed as all or for pated we had to learn the lessons of guerilla tactics in which the Boers were masters. One lesson which certainly we should have learnt from the Crimea was the health of the troops, but, once again, the War Office was almost completely at fault over this and dreadful conditions prevailed in many of the hospitals, though these were afterwards put right. It is good for us now to read of these past wars and learn the necessity of preparation beforehand.

An Outline of Anglo-American Bible History, by Edgar Newgass (Batsford), deals, as its title shows, with a subject of perennial interest. The author was tempted to start his study by being the possessor of a most remarkable collection of first-edition early English printed Bibles. The present book aims to set forth in lucid fashion the history and gradual translation into the English language. We are given brief references to Scriptural Origins, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Texts. Then we turn to Britain with Cædmon and Bede and passing on to Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Coverdale and their Bibles; then the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the great Authorized Version of King James in 1611. We are then taken to America and given an account of the various Bibles printed there, especially those connected with the names of Eliot, Bradford, Cotton Mather, and Aitken. The book is adorned with reproductions of the title-pages of several of the famous Bibles, and there is a useful bibliography. The author writes: 'It could well be averred that, except for your dyed-in-the-wool theologian, there is so little to chose between one Bible version and another, that the man-inthe-street could as readily work his passage into the kingdom with the help of the Vulgate as the King James Bible.' This is a view with which, of course, many will disagree; but there is something to be said for it and, indeed, this volume is proof that there is much to be said of many different versions.

To all who are interested in the different ways of life adopted by peoples of far-off lands *The Footprint of the Buddha*, by E. F. C. Ludowyk (Allen and Unwin), will be particularly welcome. It is designed round two main ends: an exposition of the origins and fundamentals of the teaching of Gotama the Buddha, and its outward expression in the art and architecture of Ceylon. A wide learning has here collected the hitherto scattered knowledge of Ceylon's

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past into a close-woven narrative and commentary. There is much to ponder in the different aspects of this book. First, the Buddha's wisdom and practical approach, his insistence upon individual clear thinking and questioning-not only applicable to Eastern ways of living!—or, to take only one example, the striking figure of any teaching as a raft, to be abandoned when no longer necessary on the far side of the flood. Or again, the Emperor Asoka's tolerance towards other religious practices provides a fine example for the present day, with the object that 'a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place' for 'whosoever praises his own sect . . . with the view of glorifying [it] . . . injures his own sect very severely.' And one notices the difference between the early teaching, relying solely upon the spoken word without any artistic representations of the Buddha, and the later doctrinal and hieratical form of 'Buddhism.' On a more mundane level the picture of irrigation and controlled water supplies as the centre of Sinhalese civilization will raise questions with some about the problems of drought in more temperate climates. But perhaps one of the author's most stimulating ideas is his reminder that ancient Buddhist thought describes an emotion of serene joy derived from the contemplation of a Buddha image-in its essence an æsthetic emotion. It goes far to explain the remarkable impression made by the sculptures of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva and points to one of the deeper truths of Buddhism, or for that matter any other tradition: that one of the foremost goals is a state of recollected serenity, from which alone the living waters of true religion can spring.

The world of musical composition appears to be beyond the comprehension of the average mortal, so when we come across a book by Robert Jacobs entitled *Harmony for the Listener* (Oxford University Press) we may be permitted a faint scepticism that it can ever succeed. But in this one is delighted to be proved wrong. Here is a book to be read and read again with the utmost attention by anyone at all interested in the structure of harmony, for by revealing some of the underlying principles of classical music it opens up a new world of musical appreciation. This analysis does not destroy the magic of the great masters; rather by glimpsing the rules of their craft our respect for them is greatly increased. There is a slight tendency, which is surely quite illogical, to regard the great com-

posers as coming under few of the limitations and rules of the masters of visual art. These, we know, have usually spent years in the studio of an older and more experienced practitioner, learning the elements of their profession, but we imagine that composers are more spontaneous and lightly pluck the golden fruit a kind providence has provided. Now we see that they too have their apprenticeship and schooling, have to learn to distinguish between order and anarchy, and that only by devoting time and thought to the mechanics of sound can they play upon the hearts of all who listen. Yet when we come reluctantly to the last few pages of this journey of musical exploration we are still faced with one of the biggest and least solved questions of all. For although one can now see that certain combinations of notes have almost invariable effects upon the human mind, are we any nearer to understanding why? Perhaps music rightly studied could bring answers to our problems.

'Under the constant pressure of such outbursts of admiration and the evidence of sincere passion Madame Recamier felt her heart soften and her thoughts turn towards him. Could she resist such fervour to the end? She knew the danger and would have sought refuge in flight but knew not where or how.' This extract taken at random from Maurice Levaillant's The Passionate Exiles, translated from the French by Malcolm Barnes (Allen and Unwin), is a fair instance of how near this treatment of the friendship between two famous women-Madame de Staël and Madame Recamiercomes to the novel. The treatment is also to a degree psychological, insomuch as the whole approach of the author is almost that of a case history where all the significance is put into a particular interpretation of facts with which one can agree or disagree as one interprets the truth. M. Levaillant recreates both women with a devotion to the mœurs of the heart that at times comes very near to romantic languishing. Both women were indeed arresting personalities and both were involved in certain areas of their times without fear or favour. Indeed Madame de Staël's open defiance of Napeleon was carried to such a pitch that eventually she was exiled not only from Paris but from France. Madame Recamier operated in a more strictly feminine sphere, playing the part of the coquette without the least intention of yielding. M. Levaillant has based his book on hitherto unpublished letters and documents and it may be this the motive laid we anyon remark agreed much estable teurs-it is not a second motivation.

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this that makes him so free with his records of thoughts and inner motives, but it may seem a little too Proustian and a little too overlaid with intense significance. Nevertheless it is a valuable book for anyone interested in the period, for the author does reproduce the remarkable intellectual temperature engendered by them and he is agreeably intimate. Madame de Staël was without a doubt very much a product of her time and the strange ménage which she established at Coppet—notorieties, famous statesmen, and litterateurs—seem all part of the portrait of her. One feels, however, that it is not the final word on the relationship between these two women.

'Ha! my Portuguese Lollipop! What price the "Common Man" now? Ha? Heigh? Haw?' So begins one of the items in The Letters of John Cowper Powys to Louis Wilkinson, 1935 to 1956 (Macdonald), which have been edited with a preface by Mr Wilkinson. This is a typical piece of uninhibited verbiage that for one reader at least takes the edge off so much that is expressive of Mr Powys' extraordinary vitality of mind, stimulating play of ideas, breathtaking exhibition of unselfconsciousness, and dexterous wordplay. It is difficult not to feel at times that a particular pose is set to suit the occasion and a resultant feeling of artificiality ensues. Some of the letters come off extraordinarily well as one side of a correspondence, for Mr Powys not only replies: he gives rein to fantastication, preposterous but amusing generalization, literary criticism of all kinds, and a somewhat stunning variation of apostrophic nomenclatures. There can be no doubt that these letters will play their part in any literary history of our time, though perhaps tending towards the curiosity section: there being all the difference between a Rabelaisian world created by a writer and a life which takes pride in living itself in Rabelaisian terms. Mr Powys has become something of the cult during his lifetime and one can easily understand why this is. Everything about him is emphatic. One needs to accept it before enjoying it. It works on such a scale and at such a pace that its very impetus carries along a cloud of disciples in its wake, which is not to belittle but to say that the personality as expressed in these letters will certainly not be to everybody's taste. While reading, one wishes many times that the tricks and the verbal gyrations were less frequent and the salty and salutary literary and social assessments more so.

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